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ABSTRACT

Written entirely by Native authors, this book addresses some critical issues in the education of American Indian and Alaska Native students. Intended for college classrooms, it aims to fill a void in the literature and textbooks used in multicultural and teacher education programs. The book has four sections: the past and present foundations of Indian education; curriculum issues, thoughts, and practice; the college and university experience; and next steps (research to support improved practice). Chapters are: (1) "The Unnatural History of American Indian Education" (K. Tsianina Lomawaima); (2) "Tribal Control of American Indian Education: Observations Since the 1960s with Implications for the Future" (John W. Tippeconnic III); (3) "Education and the Law: Implications for American Indian/Alaska Native Students" (Linda Sue Warner); (4) "Culturally Appropriate Curriculum: A Research-Based Rationale" (Tarajean Yazzie); (5) "Teaching through Traditions: Incorporating Languages and Culture into Curricula" (Linda Skinner); (6) "The Native American Learner and Bicultural Science Education" (Gregory A. Cajete); (7) "Student Assessment in Indian Education or What Is a Roach?" (Sandra J. Fox); (8) "Effective Counseling with American Indian Students" (Deborah Wetsit); (9) "The Role of Social Work in Advancing the Practice of Indigenous Education: Obstacles and Promises in Empowerment-Oriented Social Work Practice" (Michael J. Yellow Bird, Venida Chenault); (10) "American Indians and Alaska Natives in Higher Education: Promoting Access and Achievement" (D. Michael Pavel); (11) "Tribal Colleges: 1968-1998" (Wayne J. Stein); (12) "The Vanishing Native Reappears in the College Curriculum" (Clara Sue Kidwell); and (13) "Research To Support Improved Practice in Indian Education" (Karen Gayton Swisher, John W. Tippeconnic III). Contains references in each chapter and an index. (SV)

ED 427 902

NEXT

STEPS

RESEARCH AND PRACTICE TO ADVANCE INDIAN EDUCATION

EDITED BY

KAREN GAYTON SWISHER AND

JOHN W. TIPPECONNIC III

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NEXT STEPS

Next Steps

Research and Practice to Advance Indian Education

edited by
Karen Gayton Swisher
and
John W. Tippeconnic III

Clearinghouse on Rural Education and Small Schools
Charleston, West Virginia

ERIC
Clearinghouse on Rural Education and Small Schools

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Preface

In this nation's 300 years of formal education of Indigenous people, the last four decades have been most significant to American Indian and Alaska Native communities. These years mark the progression of self-determination in the education of children and youth in Indigenous communities. The "right" to self-determination was "granted" by federal policy and legislation in 1975; however, the momentum began building during the civil rights protests of the 1960s. Since then, significant progress has been made in every facet of education.

The first tribally chartered/controlled colleges are 25-30 years old, and there are now 31 of them. Approximately 60 percent of the schools supported by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) are now locally controlled through grants or contracts. *Indian Education Act* and Johnson O'Malley (JOM) programs have resulted in more parental involvement and more culturally relevant activities in public schools. Indigenous people are excelling in the fine arts, literature, motion pictures, sports, science, medicine, and education. We proudly claim the first Indigenous astronaut, John Bennett Herrington, who is Chickasaw. Role modeling is working, and a majority of our young people are getting the message that they can excel if they want to. As we close out another decade and another century, the state of Indigenous education is in better shape than ever before in history.

While we celebrate the renaissance of Indigenous thought and actions, we recognize many issues still need to be addressed and resolved. The promise of resolution lies in the hands of those who care most about the issues—Indigenous people. There is promise in the growing number of tribally controlled elementary and secondary schools and early childhood programs, which provide Indigenous knowledge bases for younger students. There is promise in the proliferation of tribal colleges, which provide higher education to citizens who otherwise would not have access. There is promise in the number of Indigenous people who have chosen the professorate in mainstream colleges and universities as a career path. There is promise in the number of teacher preparation programs (established and developing), which address the need for Indigenous teachers—a need recognized in nearly every major study in the field of Indian education in the last 20 years.[1] There is promise in the renewal of Native studies programs that emphasize history, law, literature, or some other discipline. Effective practice based on research is demonstrated in the school improvement efforts of reservation grant, contract, and BIA-operated schools in the 34 states in which they are located.

Donna Deyhle and Karen Swisher thoroughly reviewed the research in American Indian and Alaska Native education and conclude that, until recently, research has not made a difference in the education of Native students. Recent research has emphasized cultural strengths and cultural integrity as a constructivist base for effective practice, versus the deficit model under which schools operated for too many years. This research has enabled local knowledge (language, culture, history, and philosophy) to take a more prominent place in the role of schooling. We now know more about learning styles and how individuals approach the teaching and learning situation. We know that caring teachers have great impact on students' decisions about staying in school or leaving. We know a great deal, but much still needs to be investigated.[2]

Next Steps is a tribute to the intellectual strengths and talents of American Indian and Alaska Native people. It is an attempt by Native authors to address some critical issues in education. It is written for college or university classrooms to fill a void in the literature and textbooks used in multicultural and teacher education programs. Given the complexity of the field of Indian education, this book is not comprehensive. Some important areas are not addressed here: early childhood education, special education, use of technology, gender issues, leadership, preparation of teachers, and adult education. Also not addressed are two critical concerns preservice teachers should know more about: (1) education history and contemporary issues of Alaska Natives and (2) the education of Indigenous children in urban areas. In spite of the voids, this book is unique. To our knowledge, it is the first text about Indian education, among the many that exist, that is written entirely by Native authors.

In Part I, three authors discuss historical, contemporary, and legal aspects of Native education. K. Tsianina Lomawaima critically examines colonial education, arguing that it produced unnatural ideas regarding civilization, Christianization, subordination of Native communities, and presumed intellectual deficiencies. The contemporary aspects of Indian education are discussed by John W. Tippeconnic III through a review of the literature surrounding local control of Indian education. Finally Linda Sue Warner presents an overview of federal education case law as it relates to all students, including implications for American Indian and Alaska Native students.

Part II focuses on curricula. Seven authors present their thoughts about curriculum foundations, theories, and practices, and how these relate to culture. Tarajean Yazzie examines the theoretical and practical research regarding the need for inclusion or integration of culture in curricula for Native learners. Linda Skinner fleshes out this topic with a discussion of exemplary programs, successful strategies, and suggestions for more effective practices. Gregory A. Cajete takes a more specific approach, asking readers to consider bicultural foundations in the development and delivery of science curricula for Native learners. Assessment of learning is a continuing concern for educators who believe that standardized achievement tests do not accurately reflect the magnitude of learning experienced by Native learners. Sandra J. Fox discusses new methods of assessing student learning that provide a fairer and more complete picture of what Native learners know and can do. The importance of historical understanding and a culturally specific knowledge base in counseling is adeptly defined and discussed by Deborah Wetsit. She points to the need for cross-cultural strategies not generally practiced by non-Native counselors. Finally Michael Yellow Bird and Venida Chenault, both social work educators, link social work to advancing practice in the education of Native learners. Their chapter reminds educators that students live their daily lives in several critical settings outside the school walls.

In Part III, three authors consider the college and university experience. D. Michael Pavel presents data on two important areas of postsecondary education, access and achievement. Access data are examined through precollege attributes, achievement data are examined using national data on enrollment and degrees conferred, and actions are presented that promote both access and achievement. In a chapter about the development of tribal colleges, Wayne J. Stein reviews this successful alternative to mainstream education initiated 30 years ago. Predating the tribal college movement was another effort grounded in principles of sovereignty and cultural and linguistic integrity: Native studies programs. In the last chapter of this part, Clara Sue Kidwell discusses the development and evolution of Native American or American Indian Studies programs.

Part IV concerns the next steps that must be taken to maintain the momentum of the past 40 years. Karen Gayton Swisher and John W. Tippeconnic III outline some actions that Native and non-Native educators must consider as they work to improve the education of Native students.

Progress has been made, but much more work remains. This book is an attempt to engage authors and readers in thinking about the next steps for advancing research and practice in Indian education.

Notes

1. We use the colloquial term *Indian education*, recognizing that it does not appropriately name the field of education involved with the education of American Indian and Alaska Native peoples in this country. However, it is the official term used in legislation related to American Indian and Alaska Native education and self-determination. We prefer the terms Indigenous, Native, or American Indian and Alaska Native.

2. See Donna Deyhle and Karen Swisher, "Research in American Indian and Alaska Native Education: From Assimilation to Self-Determination." In *Review of Research in Education*, Vol. 22, edited by Michael W. Apple. Washington, DC: American Educational Research Association (1997).

Contributors

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Part I

The Past and Present Foundations of Indian Education

CHAPTER 1

The Unnatural History of American Indian Education

K. Tsianina Lomawaima[1]

A critical examination of the colonial education of American Indians unearths the roots of many stereotypical beliefs about the culture and capability of Native Americans. The phrase *colonial education* refers to the reculturing and reeducation of American Indians by the secular and religious institutions of colonizing nations—Spain, Great Britain, France, and the United States of America. Deep-seated ideas and practices that were accepted as *natural* by past colonizers continue to undergird contemporary stereotypes about American Indians.

In truth, there was nothing natural *or true* about the tenets of colonial education: (1) that Native Americans were savages and had to be civilized; (2) that civilization required Christian conversion; (3) that civilization required subordination of Native communities, frequently achieved through resettlement efforts; and (4) that Native people had mental, moral, physical, or cultural deficiencies that made certain pedagogical methods necessary for their education. These tenets were not based on natural truths but were culturally constructed and served specific agendas of the colonizing nations, hence the title for this chapter. Although these ideas have become *naturalized*, or taken for granted over time, they should be questioned and analyzed.

The *American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language* defines *natural history* as "the study of natural objects and organisms, their origins, evolution, interrelationships, and description." *Natural* objects and organisms are those that are "produced by nature, not artificial or man-made." The study of American Indians has often been subsumed under the topic of "natural history." Our peoples and cultures have been presented in static dioramas in natural history museums as though we were nonhuman subjects, undeserving of inclusion within museums devoted to "American" (i.e., non-Native) history, culture, and civilization. The racist implications of the "unnatural history" of Indians extend beyond our exclusion from human history. We should also think carefully about uses of the word *natural* that imply *normal*, *true*, or *commonsense*. As human beings, we take for granted much of what we think, experience, and remember. Over time, certain ideas and perceptions of the world are taken as *natural*—in other words, not as artificial or man-made but as unexceptional components of the natural order of things. Over the years, certain invented and stereotypic ideas about American Indians have been accepted, by both Indians and non-Indians, as self-evident, *natural truths*. Many untrue ideas have been aggressively promulgated by European and American authorities.

The invention and dissemination of distortions or inaccuracies occurred because they proved useful in advancing various goals of colonizing nations. For example, for centuries, non-Indian historians and observers of American Indian life underestimated the devastating impact of infectious disease on American Indian populations.[2] European Americans viewed the New World as a sparsely populated virgin wilderness, thinly settled by roaming nomadic groups. This suited the notion that it was European American manifest destiny to "settle" this continent: If few Native people lived here, colonial intrusion could be described as settlement rather than conquest. Acknowledging that much of North America was well populated by Indian communities with advanced agricultural sciences and sophisticated technologies would have made European American notions of settlement much more difficult to justify.[3] Hence, images of "the virgin wilderness" and "roaming nomads" became accepted over time as *natural* truths.

The four tenets of colonial education mentioned earlier represent other untruths that have dominated educational institutions in North America since long before the United States government was established. This chapter discusses in particular detail the third and fourth tenets: the resettlement of Native people and the development of "special" pedagogies for Native people. That I focus on these concepts and leave other things out of this natural history calls for some explanation.

The term *American Indian education* has been used to refer to two distinctly different, segregated, and often opposing worlds: (1) the education of American Indian children by their parents, extended families, and communities, and (2) the education of American Indian children, teenagers, adults, and communities by colonial authorities, particularly European American institutions. This chapter focuses on the second world, the education of Indian people by the colonial powers of Spain, Great Britain, France, and the United States. I do not survey the educational theories, practices, and institutions American Indian communities and parents have developed over the centuries to educate their own children. My reasons are practical, ideological, and historical.

On the practical side, it is impossible to survey adequately both worlds of Indian education—the education of Indians *by Indians* and the education of Indians by *others*—in one chapter. Native America is remarkably diverse, encompassing hundreds of communities with distinct languages, cultures, philosophies, and educational systems that defy easy generalizations. Ideologically, I resist generalizations about American Indians because so many stereotypes rest on the mistaken assumption that all Indians are alike. Whether lazy or noble, drunken or stoic, poverty-stricken or living in harmony with nature, we are all lumped together in an artificial category that is anything but natural.

Historically, the goals of the colonial education of American Indians have been to transform Indian people and societies and to eradicate Indian self-government, self-determination, and self-education. In the late twentieth century, long after the U.S. independence from Great Britain, Indian education often still means the education of Indians by non-Indians. Many current attitudes, programs, practices, and beliefs continue the legacy of Indian education by *others*; these are contemporary expressions of colonial education.

While this chapter focuses on how non-Indians have imposed education on Indians, it is important to recognize that, in varying degrees, Indian self-education has survived under tremendous duress. Recently windows of opportunity have been opened more widely in the United States, making it possible for Indian communities to reassert and regain powers of self-governance, self-determination, and self-education, the three fundamental components of tribal sovereignty. The other chapters in this book attest to this truth.[3]

In the earliest interactions, Europeans constructed a model of appropriate education for Indians. This model included ideas and practices or, in other words, theory and methods. Educators, then as now, were concerned with these questions: What is the purpose of education? Who has authority to teach? Who are the students? Where should this education take place? What teaching methods are most suitable? What should the curriculum cover? What are students being prepared for? In addressing these questions, colonizing nations developed educational theory and methods particular to the colonial education of Indigenous populations, and to imported populations such as Africans brought to the Americas as slaves.

In surveying the educational theory and methods developed for American Indian communities by Spain, Great Britain, France, and the United States, I identified four common tenets of Indian education shared by the colonizing nations. I propose that these tenets have assumed a status as *natural* requirements, what *must* be achieved in order to educate Native Americans.

Until recently, official colonial education policy conflated the first two tenets. Civilization and Christian conversion were assumed for centuries to be the same thing.[4] Full status in one category required full status in the other. The separation of church and state, a foundation of our public school system, was not initiated in federal Indian boarding schools until the 1930s.[5]

Accordingly, I consider the first two tenets, *civilization* and *conversion*, side by side. I then elaborate on the third and fourth tenets—new model communities and appropriate pedagogical methods—in considerable detail because these factors are generally less well understood. Finally, I suggest ways the legacies of colonial education have been carried into today's classrooms and communities.

Tenets 1 and 2: American Indians Need to be Civilized; Civilization Requires Christian Conversion.

Samuel Chapman Armstrong wrote, "Only the light of Christian truth and example, steadily shining, can lift men up." European notions of "savagery" and "civilization" were imported to the New World; they structured the very first European interactions with, and perceptions of, Native America. Deep-seated European fears of the unknown, the "wild," the forest, and "barbarians" who lived in the wilderness can be traced back to Greek philosophy. Those fears permeated Europe in the centuries before Columbus stumbled onto America; we see their influence in the Spanish expulsion of Moors and Jews, in the British conquest of Ireland, and elsewhere.

Of course, a fourteenth-century Spanish Catholic priest carrying out the orders of the Inquisition believed he was carrying out the orders of God. The *natural order of things* demanded that heresy, whether Judaism or Islam, be eradicated. It is unlikely that such a priest ever considered the possibility that the supremacy of Christianity might be an artificial or man-made idea. He accepted it as a *natural* truth. In this unquestioning way, the *natural* dominion of the Christian God was carried to the Americas.

As recently as the 1940s, the historian Sister Mary Stanislaus Van Well wrote that Catholic missionaries in the Southwest *had* to control every aspect of Indian education because "nothing contrary to Christian religious teaching and morality can be tolerated by the Church. Hence the Church has the right to supervise all phases of the education of those who belong to her fold." Similarly, when the French returned to Quebec after their brief displacement (1629-1632) by the English, Father Paul LeJeune led the Jesuit Order in what one historian has termed "an all-out offensive" against Native religions. LeJeune's Jesuits naively expected they would achieve their proselytizing mission within one generation; they were to be disappointed. The French were secure, nonetheless, in their conviction that "by the process of evangelization and assimilation, the Amerindian would become *humanisé* as well as *francisé*," meaning they would become human as they became French. Other colonizing nations shared the assumption that Christianity and European cultural traditions were the cornerstones of a "civilized" and "human" life.

Tenet 3: Civilization Requires Subordination of Native Communities, Which May Be Achieved by Resettlement of Native People.

Everywhere in the colonial world, the tenets of civility and conversion were explicitly linked to power.[9] One tried-and-true method used by all colonial nations to assert power has been the relocation and resettlement of Indigenous communities. Spanish *reducciones* and *encomiendas*; French *reductions*; British praying towns; and American boarding schools, reservations, colonies, and homesteads are all examples of the colonial compulsion to radically restructure and control American Indian communities. In 1603, the secular political leader in Acadia was instructed in his duty:

> To seek to lead the [Native] nations thereof to the profession of the Christian faith, to civility of manners, an ordered life . . . and finally their recognition of and submission to the authority and domination of the Crown of France.[10]

Submission to authority and domination of colonial power were at the crux of the colonial encounter between American Indians and European Americans. Control is the key word here; the creation of these new communities was all about imposing military, political, economic, and social power. Spain, Great Britain, France, and the United States were each intent on the conquest of a continent, and the extension of power over Native nations was couched in the rhetoric of civilization versus savagery.

According to the colonizers, civilized communities were clustered around an urban center. The scale varied from hamlet to city, but social groups were congregated, bounded, and tied to the soil indirectly through service to a landlord (as in the case of feudalism) or directly through patented ownership (as in the case of slavery). *Savage* communities, on the other hand, were said to comprise nomadic roamers rather than landowners, possibly undeserving of the term *community* at all. This rhetorical context made it necessary to stereotype all American Indians as nomadic wanderers, thinly scattered across (but not really owners of) the landscape, despite abundant evidence to the contrary. When faced with the reality of settled Indian village life, colonizers frequently—although not universally—turned to practices of *re*settlement to impose political, civil, and religious jurisdiction.

One early exception to resettlement occurred on the northern frontiers of New Spain[11] in the Pueblo communities of modern-day Arizona and New Mexico. In this early era of European colonization, from the arrival of Juan de Oñate's expedition to New Mexico in 1598 to the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, resettlement of sedentary Native communities was not a primary goal, but the assertion of colonial control was essential. The substantial Pueblo villages were not relocated, but Spanish institutions of religious and political control were superimposed. Catholic churches were built on the foundations of Pueblo ceremonial buildings, called *kivas*, and Spanish political offices were delegated to Pueblo men.[12] After nearly a century of often brutal Spanish rule, in 1680, the Pueblos and other Native people of the area united to push the Spanish back to El Paso, Texas. Twelve years later, the Spanish reasserted their jurisdiction but worked out a less punitive accommodation with Pueblo groups. By comparison in the late 1700s, the Spanish launched their conquest of Alta California (which included territories within southern and central modern-day California) and implemented a more aggressive resettlement and education program.

The *encomienda*—a feudal arrangement allowing little freedom to subjugated Indian residents—was the prevalent institution for resettling and reorganizing Native people in Old Mexico. In Alta California, however, the *mission*—flanked by the military force of the presidio (a garrison of soldiers) and the civic model of the pueblo or farm community—became the preeminent colonizing institution. Van Well, Catholic historian of the church's educational role in the American Southwest, described the mission as "a community or village *into which the missionaries gathered their converts* [emphasis added] or prospective converts . . . trained [them] in the rudiments of civilized living . . . taught Christian doctrine . . . at times even introduced [the Indians] to elements of reading [and] writing." Robert Jackson and native Californian scholar Edward Castillo label the missions' goals as acculturation and the production of a disciplined Indian labor force to serve the Spanish. These goals were achieved by gathering Native people under the control of Spanish priests, backed by the military power of the presidios. The Spanish had first allowed Native Californian families to live in traditional dwellings within the missions but eventually replaced these structures with "permanent adobe housing units . . . [that] afforded a greater degree of control over the converts, which was enhanced by the building of walls to surround the villages."[10] As a result, Native Californians were housed in overcrowded, unsanitary barracks that separated men from women, parents from children, and "wild" from "mission" Indians. Mission architecture reinforced colonial control.

Spanish and French church doctrine dictated reducing "wild" Indians from states of unfettered and chaotic freedom to settled, organized, and civilized lives. This explains the terminology applied to resettled communities: *reducciones* in New Spain and *reductions* in New France. *Reductions* had first been established under French colonial direction in Central and South America. They were adopted in New France as well as a way to implement one cornerstone of LeJeune's plan to civilize the Natives in present-day Canada. His plan had four parts: (1) learn the Native language,[11] (2) establish educational seminaries for children, (3) build hospitals, and (4) encourage Native people to live sedentary lives. The Jesuits founded the settlement of Sillery in 1637, but warfare and disease erased it within two decades. The Jesuits learned from the Sillery experiment that too-close proximity to European settlements was not healthy (because of the transmission of epidemic diseases), so in 1667, they established the segregated community of Prairie de la Magdelaine (also known as Kentakè).

Reductions were important symbols of the educational ideology of the French, but in reality, they were never as numerous or as successful as the colonial powers might have wished. The *reductions* were, however, effective foci for French power and authority: residents were closely supervised, egress was restricted, every weekday was regimented into periods of prayer, and every Sunday witnessed a constant round of services, processions, and instructions.

In New England, English Protestant groups such as the religiously and culturally aggressive Puritans and separatist Pilgrims did not expend as much effort on missionary endeavors as the Catholic nations, but a few individuals devoted themselves to the conversion of local Native communities. John Eliot, Massachusetts Bay Colony minister known as "Apostle to the Indians," was dedicated to resettling Native converts into *praying towns*, where they were isolated from Native religious beliefs and practices. To be eligible for religious instruction, the towns had to subject themselves to the government of Massachusetts, placing them under the authority of English military officers. Eliot's proselytizing targeted Native communities already weakened by epidemic diseases and nearby dominating colonial settlements. Eliot was not alone. On Martha's Vineyard, Thomas Mayhew, Jr. and Thomas Mayhew, Sr. were remarkably successful in accomplishing what William Simmons characterizes as "deep and rapid voluntary change to colonial ideology." There was no thought given, however, to integrating English and Native congregations; the praying towns were conceived as "similar to those of the English, *subordinate* to them, and geographically separate."[19] Simmons concludes that "a shift in authority in favor of the English" was a necessary prerequisite to conversion itself.[20]

The praying towns were ultimately doomed. At their high point in 1674, some 15 towns housed approximately 1,100 people (perhaps 10 percent of the local Native population at the time), but the general hysteria and anti-Indian sentiments during King Philip's War (1675-1676) conspired against their perpetuation. During the war, Christian Indians in Boston were ordered into concentration camps on Deer Island "for their own protection," and they never successfully rebuilt their Christian community. Allegiance of Christian Indians was instrumental to the English victory, but after the war, English authorities ignored that loyalty. Only four of the praying towns were rebuilt, and all had disappeared by the early 1700s. Ironically, Eliot's plan, and the strategy of resettlement to create new religious and political allegiances, was fairly successful. Even after their shabby treatment by the English during and after King Philip's War, almost half of the converts remained faithful to Christianity.[21]

The seeming paradox of European Americans unable, or unwilling, to recognize civilization when they encountered it in the nucleated village life of New England Algonquians, Iroquoians in New France, or Southwestern Pueblos is no paradox at all if we push aside the curtain of rhetoric and focus on the issue of power. Iroquois longhouses, New England villages, Alta California communities, and Pueblo towns were self-governing entities whose existences were perceived as threatening to European American polities. To achieve civilized living, colonizers believed Native people had to be removed from Native community life and integrated into new communities under European American control. Sometimes, this created seeming contradictions within the civilization rhetoric. In 1805, for example, the Society of Friends of Pennsylvania and New Jersey reported positively on their progress in civilizing the Seneca. The Friends enthusiastically reported that Indians had begun to site individual houses along river courses rather than following their former habit of "crowding together in villages."[18]

The reason Indian villages were considered bad while American villages were deemed good had to do with power over social life. Indians in tribal villages were perceived as shackled by the communal tribal bond, while those in disaggregated homesteads were seen as free individuals within the liberal American nation. The impetus to detribalize Indian individuals and integrate them into the lower economic strata of the U.S. economy—as self-supporting rural farming families or, in the case of individuals, as domestic servants, manual laborers, agricultural workers, or low-skilled tradesmen—was fueled by the desire to alienate tribal people from large communal land bases.

By the 1800s the movement to relocate and resettle Indian people had established reservations across the West, small rancherias in California, "model homes" and "homesteads" on boarding school grounds and reservation allotments, and model "colonies" in U.S. Indian Territory and Canada.[19] At Hampton Institute in the 1880s,[20] anthropologist Alice Fletcher instigated the "model family" or "model home" project, designed to link the domestic transformations achieved in boarding schools to Indian family life back home on reservations. Model homes were built at Hampton for several young Indian couples, mostly from the Omaha reservation. Inspired by Fletcher, the Women's National Indian Association (WNIA), a national reform group of non-Native women, established a Home Building and Loan Committee to assist boarding school graduates to achieve "American-style housing." From 1884 to 1888, WNIA helped build 30 to 40 homes, some at Hampton, some on the Omaha reserve, and some in Alaskan villages.[21]

In several experiments across the West, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) established demonstration communities, or colonies of young "progressive" Indians, usually recruited from among recent boarding school graduates. In the colonies—such as Seger Colony in Oklahoma or the "Progressive Colony" established by 1918 near Sacaton, Arizona (southeast of present-day Phoenix), on the Pima reservation—young adults carried out what they had practiced in the schools, where they had made model furniture and model clothes and learned to care for baby doll "families." In the 1930s, using funds from the federal Subsistence Homesteads program, a small model community was built on the grounds of Chilocco Indian Agricultural School in Oklahoma. The plan was to build "just small, inexpensive homes" that graduates could buy on a 30-year plan, although the land would remain in government ownership. During the New Deal era, the BIA also established "rehabilitation communities" connected to adult education programs. Red Shirt Table on the Pine Ridge reservation and Grass Mountain on the Rosebud reservation were well-known rehabilitation communities.[22]

In 1830, a full century earlier, Canada had embarked on a similar experiment. Chippewas were "settled" at Coldwater and Lake Simcoe Narrows. A road was built between the two settlements, land was cleared for farming, and administrators hoped "White farmers and skilled workers" could be found to build homes for the Indians, who would work as farmers and carters. Chippewas and their White neighbors were equally unimpressed by the idea, and the experiment failed; Coldwater had been abandoned by 1837.[23]

"Model" communities created in Canada and the United States were primarily models of social surveillance and control. At several Canadian communities, the Tsimshian "model Victorian village" at Metlakatla (present-day Alaska), and in the Progressive Colony near Sacaton, Arizona, daily activities were rigidly scheduled, and the inhabitants were subject to cabin-to-cabin inspections.[24] Pedagogical methods of discipline, surveillance, time scheduling, and control were also implemented in missions, schools, and reservations. These methods were designed to produce economically independent workers so thoroughly saturated in the ideology of Indian inferiority they would willingly accept places in society that the larger society defined as appropriate to their needs and abilities.

Tenet 4: Civilization Requires Special Pedagogical Practices to Overcome Presumed Deficiencies in Indian Children and Adults.

The Jesuits in New France had been directed to introduce manual labor into Indian education as early as 1665. Early southwestern U.S. and California missions were described by Van Well as huge, self-supporting agricultural and industrial schools. The Franciscan fathers in the California missions classified their converts not by intelligence, character, or spirituality but by their ability to work.[25] Work, manual labor, vocational training—all refer to the essential perceived need to train Native Americans in hard labor.

Spanish missions served as early models for the American religious and federal boarding schools of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. American boarding schools, in turn, were the models adopted in Canada after the 1879 *Davin Report*, commissioned by the Canadian government. Basic training in agricultural and domestic arts was thought to be fundamental to the civilizing process, and most educational systems required more student labor in fields, laundries, and shops than intellectual application in the classroom. Students were immersed in a life of labor, but their training was carefully designed not to create laborers who would compete economically against the privileged classes. Canadian education policy in 1910 stipulated that residential school curricula should "fit the Indian for civilized life *in his own environment* [emphasis added]," which meant stressing simplicity and practicality. First Nations people in Saskatchewan responded the next year by requesting that the Superintendent of Indian Affairs provide for schools that gave "more emphasis to classwork, and less to farming."[26]

Boarding and residential schools elevated manual labor and hard work to a pedestal as effective civilizing practices; cleanliness and orderliness were equally privileged pedagogical instruments of cultural transformation. The discipline of orderliness imposed the utmost uniformity of appearance on Native students. Uniforms, mission- or government-issued clothing, and regulation haircuts were essential markers of the "remaking" process in action. In addition to transforming the outward appearance of students and their work habits, emotionally charged pedagogical instruments such as liturgical music, popular songs and lullabies, ceremonies, dramas, and pageants were utilized to help reshape emotional expression, emotional life, and affective connections to culture and society.

In 1529 Franciscans established the St. John Lateran school to educate Mestizo children in Mexico City. Students wore distinctive uniforms, helped with the necessary labor, were subjected to a discipline of silence, and were under constant supervision, even through the night as they slept in their dormitories. Similarly, the "patio schools" for Mexican girls enforced strict uniformity of dress. A contemporary observer noted there did "not exist a difference among them, even as regards a ribbon."[27]

This emphasis on uniformity and regimented discipline lasted four and one-half centuries as educational institutions strove to reshape Native individuals and societies. All American mission and federal boarding schools, from their inception until World War II, utilized the disciplines of military regimentation and uniformity to train students in subservience and conformity. Students at Chilocco Indian Agricultural School, one of the large off-reservation boarding schools, rose at dawn to march in close order drill; clad in government-issue GI uniforms, they carried unloaded Enfield rifles and executed precise drill patterns in response to the orders of student officers. Girls at Chilocco were punished if they refused the GI shoes, which they derisively called "bullhides," and attempted to wear shoes sent from home—shoes with "nonregulation" laces or a patch of gray "color."[28]

Yet other parts of the process of colonial education focused on transforming emotional expression and connections to Native ceremonial and social life. Educators through the ages have recognized the strength and endurance of emotional bonds to cultural phenomena formed early in life and reinforced through ritual, pageantry, theater, song, music, and dance. Sixteenth-century Franciscan schools in Mexico introduced Catholic social activities, fiestas, religious dramas, and music to provide "an emotional overtone to many of the drab and more repetitious drill methods." The priests recognized that the festive pageants and tableaux of Catholicism psychologically engaged potential converts "through active sensation and emotional association with the new order."[29]

Catholic missionaries in New France relied on lurid pictures of heaven and hell as well as the highly developed material culture of Catholic piety: rosaries, medals, statues, colored beads offered as prizes for correct rote memorization, colored sticks used to tally sins, and the crosses, bells, and candles of the church. One fervent proselytizer at Onondaga "made up for the lack of a church bell by running through the village before service calling out 'Fire! Fire! Ever burning hellfire!'" Given the high rates of Native mortality due to infectious epidemic crowd diseases such as measles, smallpox, and influenza (sometimes introduced by the missionaries themselves), it is not surprising that death and the afterlife preoccupied

Native peoples as well as the priests. One can only imagine the response of Native communities to the threat "Fire! Fire! Ever burning hellfire!"[30]

One Canadian missionary thought the Natives tended to be "sad" by nature so he set spiritual songs to "various joyful tunes" to lift their spirits. Similarly, the fathers in Alta California often described "a melancholy attitude among many converts." The Natives' general depression in the face of forced labor, gender segregation, and high death rates (particularly among infants, women, and children) should not seem surprising to us, but it was remarked upon by European contemporaries. Ludovik Choris, illustrator on the Russian expedition to California (1815-1818) led by Otto von Kotzebue, wrote of the Costanoan and Coast Miwok neophytes he sketched at the San Francisco mission, "I have never seen one smile; I have never seen one look one in the eye."[31]

Father Jean Pierron labored in the mission fields among the Mohawk in New France. Pierron illustrated cards with the Christian mysteries and invented a game called "Point to Point," which illustrated human life from "the point of birth to the point of Eternity." Pierron endorsed the use of brightly colored, garish, even lurid visual aids such as "fear-inspiring images of the torments of hell and purgatory" because, in his words, "one must begin by touching their hearts, before he can convince their minds." More recently, alumni of the Blue Quills Residential School in Alberta, Canada, recalled that the pictorial catechism used in the 1930s vividly depicted two roads. One road led up to heaven and was traveled only by Whites; the lower road to hell was populated entirely by Indians.[32]

Hearts could be touched, however, without necessarily persuading minds to change. Sometimes Indian students interpreted or transformed festive occasions on their own terms. Jacqueline Gresko proposes that in Saskatchewan and British Columbia, the "brass bands, sports teams and school spirit" of the Catholic schools "laid the foundation for such present-day [Native] cultural institutions" as the powwow and War Dance Festival.[33]

In the praying towns of New England, potential converts to Puritan Christianity had to be accepted into a congregation according to established standards set by, but not necessarily practiced by, English congregations. Puritans eschewed emotionally expressive religious behavior; they viewed prophets of more "enthusiastic" Christian denominations as instruments of the devil. Native inhabitants of praying towns such as Natick, Massachusetts, however, were compelled to demonstrate all the symptoms of emotional breakdown to be judged authentic converts. Even by contemporary English descriptions, New England natives were "well known not to be much subject to tears," but John Eliot wrote that the continuous cycle of weeping and confessions at Natick gave him "greater hope of great heartbreakings." One could argue that Eliot's "great heartbreakings" were the overt physical signs of the inner psychological transformations achieved through brainwashing, cultural attack, and epidemic mortality. Natick's citizens went through more than a half-dozen tear-filled, public confessional traumas before the congregation was approved.[14]

In the federal boarding schools of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, federal staff stereotypically expected Indian students to display a certain stoicism, and educators bent their efforts toward instilling "appropriate" forms of emotional expression. The stoicism—in public at least—should perhaps come as no surprise. Children found themselves in difficult, often hostile circumstances, where their own language, religion, culture, behavior, and individualism were under constant, systematic attack. In that kind of setting, who would admit to uncertainty or weakness before the enemy? Personal narratives and autobiographical accounts of boarding school life are full of references, however, to tears shed in private, often in bed at night.[15] Even if the cause was "only" homesickness, emotions were better kept to oneself.

Federal educators turned to stereotypes of Indian emotional and physical "deficiencies" to explain student behavior and to justify federal reshaping of Indian emotional life and expression. In a 1900 newspaper interview, federal Superintendent of Indian Schools Estelle Reel said this about Indian children under her charge:

> [The Indian child's] face is without that complete development of nerve and muscle which gives character to expressive features; his face seems stolid because it is without free expression, and at the same time his mind remains measurably stolid because of the very absence of mechanism for its own expression.[16]

The stoic and silent Indian is an enduring stereotype worth considering in this analysis of what is *natural* and what is culturally constructed. It is undeniably true that linguistic and social rules governing language use, and the interplay between spoken language and silence, differ among Native languages and between Native languages and English. However, we should consider the role that colonial education may have played in creating a social reality that has fed the stereotype of silence and stoicism. As mentioned earlier, Mestizo students at the St. John Lateran school in the 1530s wore distinctive uniforms, helped with work to sustain the school, and were kept under surveillance night and day. They were also subject to a discipline of silence. Girls at the associated *patio* schools were taught good (Spanish) manners and domestic skills (such as sewing and needlework to decorate the church), clothed in uniform dresses, kept occupied at all times, and uplifted through "*silence* and prayer."[9]

Imposed silence is as much a part of nearly five centuries of colonial education as uniforms, manual labor, and relocation. Silence has been an integral part of the discipline, regimentation, and internal transformation demanded of Indian children by colonial educators. If we hope to understand contemporary classrooms and contemporary Indian learners, we *must* examine Native cultures and knowledge bases, including rules governing language use and silence use. We must also examine the historic legacies of colonial education that may have created or contributed to ideas of Indian "silence." This is only one example of a more complex consideration of colonial education and its legacy of assumptions, which today are accepted, without question, as natural.

Conclusion

What are some of the *natural truths* specific to colonial education? This chapter examined four tenets common to colonial education over the centuries:

1. Native Americans were savages who had to be civilized. This meant providing instruction in all aspects of a European American lifestyle. The markers of a civilized life included learning a new language (Spanish, French, or English) and adopting domestic customs (such as dress, hairstyle, and family structure) and economic technologies (such as architecture, foods, agricultural methods, trades, crafts, and so on) of the colonial nation.

2. Civilization required Christianization. The specific denominations have varied from nation to nation and by region, but Catholics, Baptists, Moravians, Mennonites, Quakers, and Mormons were prominent in the vast proselytizing mission.

3. Native communities should be politically and legally subordinate to the nation state, even if it means relocating them. Examples include the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century resettlement of Native peoples in New England into Puritan praying towns; the colonial resettlement of Native nations of New France into *reductions* and of New Spain into missions or *reducciones*; the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century resettlement of Native Americans onto reservations and rancherias; the resettlement of Native children into mission, manual labor, residential, and boarding schools; and the relocation of Indian workers and families into cities in the 1950s and 1960s. All of these new settings for Native people have been under the direct political control and legal jurisdiction of the colonizing nations.

4. Specific pedagogical methods were needed to overcome deficits in mental, moral, and physical characteristics. These methods typically included a military model of mass regimentation, authoritarian discipline, strict gender segregation, an emphasis on manual labor, avoidance of higher academic or professional training, rote memorization, and drill in desired physical and emotional habits.

Because these tenets are so deeply rooted in European philosophy and practice, so widely shared by colonial nations, and so enduring over time, they have been accepted uncritically by generations as "natural facts."[18] The first two tenets concerning civilization and Christianization may sound obsolete—or, at least, politically incorrect. The modern reader may wonder why it is necessary to bother with these dusty old ideas in a volume dedicated to contemporary research and practice in Indian education. Rephrasing these ideas in more contemporary terms makes clear that such ideas are still with us: Instead of saying "Indians must be civilized," we might say "Native Americans have been victims of backwardness, isolation, and discrimination, and must be brought into the American mainstream." As American society becomes more secular, the dismissal of Native spirituality continues. Instead of saying "Indians must become Christians," substitute "Native Americans must be welcomed and integrated into an American way of life that makes decisions based on science, not superstition."

The third tenet needs no rephrasing at all to sound current: Native communities should be politically and legally subordinate to the larger nation state. In evaluating the currency of this tenet, listen to the antitreaty activists who believe treaties are not constitutional documents but mere historic relics conferring undeserved rights on a select few. They do not support tribal sovereignty, self-government, self-determination, or self-education. Listen also to the proponents of "English only" initiatives, who believe the survival of Indigenous languages (along with Spanish) poses a threat to the moral and cultural fabric of the United States. Listen to the Supreme Court, a body deeply threatened by the survival of Native religious beliefs and practices, as evidenced in recent decisions denying religious freedom protections.[39] It seems clear that much of America still believes American Indians *must* be subordinate peoples and polities.[40]

Lastly, the tenet calling for a special pedagogy for Indian learners has its contemporary guises as well. Do people believe that American Indian children (or the children of other ethnic groups) require special pedagogical methods to learn because those children possess peculiar traits or insufficiencies? Listen to recommendations of reformers responding to the pedagogical challenges posed by so-called *disadvantaged* populations: they require vocational education or manual training, they're visual or right-brain learners, they're not verbal, they're culturally deprived, they don't think abstractly, and the list goes on.[41]

The enduring tenacity of these four tenets prompted the analysis in this chapter; we should not underestimate the power these propositions still wield in shaping popular thought and influencing public policy about Native Americans.[42] There is a historic connection—a family tree—that leads from the first and second tenets to the third and fourth. The legacy of these notions is still with us today.

To recognize and resist the same old ideas in new forms, we need to describe the ideas, articulate their connections, and make clear how they have been implemented in different times and places. We need to map the similarities between old ideas and new so we can judge for ourselves whether the new are really new, or whether old ideas are still being accepted as *natural* facts. The colonial education of American Indians continues today. The four tenets discussed here still permeate textbooks and readers in many public, private, and parochial schools.

While some classrooms are deeply implicated in the continuation of colonial education, in other places, many Native children now have access to community schools that integrate Native culture, language, and curriculum.[41] Pedagogical practices, curricula, and teachers have changed significantly in recent decades, but the insidious legacy of colonial education has not been vanquished yet. It stretches far beyond classrooms and schools. Stereotypes, falsehoods, and plain ignorance permeate television programming; movies; romance paperbacks and their provocative covers; sports teams and their mascots; advertising copy, images, and trademarks; country-and-western songs; and toys and dolls—all the flotsam and jetsam of American popular culture.

The stereotypes of Native America may seem inescapable, but they are not inevitable. As long as stereotypical ideas are accepted as *natural facts*, they will never be scrutinized, analyzed, or revised. They will continue to be dominating influences in the training of young minds, Native and non-Native alike. Native and non-Native educators have an opportunity and responsibility to scrutinize, analyze, and revise the natural truths and the pedagogical theory and practice they implement every day. Searching for the legacies of colonial education is one place to begin.

Notes

1. K. Tsianina Lomawaima (Creek) is a faculty member of the University of Arizona American Indian Studies Program. She would like to thank her colleagues at the University of Arizona, Teresa McCarty, Jay Stauss, and David Wilkins; Tom Biolsi of Portland State; and the anonymous reviewers of this volume for their careful and critical readings of this essay. She also is indebted to Teresa McCarty for assistance with references to contemporary research on language, literacy, and curriculum.

2. Scholars currently agree Native American populations suffered mortality rates of 90-95 percent due to epidemic diseases introduced by European, African, and Asian populations. Scholars do not agree on pre-1492 Native population numbers: estimates range from 900,000 to 18 million. For detailed debates over population counts and the impact of diseases, see Dobyns, *Their Number Become Thinned*; McNeill, *Plagues and Peoples*; Snipp,

American Indians; Thoraton, *American Indian Holocaust*; and Verano and Ubelaker, *Disease and Demography*. For associated ecological changes, see Cronon, *Changes in the Land*.

3. Weatherford, *Indian Givers* details examples of how Native American technologies and concepts in agriculture, cuisine, government, architecture, etc. have impacted the world. See Blackburn and Anderson, *Before the Wilderness* for Native Californian strategies of land use and resource management that entailed extensive human manipulation of environments. See Nabhan, *Enduring Seeds* for advanced cultural technologies in the American Southwest.

4. The reassertion of sovereignty in self-education has been facilitated by congressional legislation: the *Economic Opportunity Act* of 1964 (Public Law 88-452), which established the Office of Economic Opportunity [OEO] and led to Head Start, Upward Bound, Job Corps, Volunteers in Service to America [VISTA], and Indian Community Action Programs such as the Rough Rock Demonstration School, Navajo Nation (1966); *Elementary and Secondary Education Act* of 1965 (ESEA) (Public Law 89-10); Title I, which amended the ESEA to include Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) schools; *Indian Education Act* of 1972 (Public Law 92-318, Title IV); 1975 *Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act* (Public Law 93-638); creation of the American Indian Policy Review Commission in 1975 (Public Law 93-580); and 1990 *Native American Languages Act* (Public Law 101-477, Title I). The reassertion of sovereignty has also been facilitated by presidential executive orders such as President, Memorandum, "Government-to-Government Relations with Tribal Governments." For a review of research on Indian education in the twentieth century, see Lomawaima, "Educating Native Americans."

5. Much of American education has been built on a foundation of religious worldview, particularly nineteenth-century Protestantism. See Cremin, *Traditions of American Education* for a description of the moral force of Protestantism at the turn of the twentieth century. (The author is indebted to an anonymous reviewer for this citation.) Of course, many contemporary Christians believe Christianity and civilization are still inextricably linked. Some sectors continue to assert that deeply rooted European American cultural values, such as the patriarchal family, are essential to Christianity and to sustaining the "family values" of a civilized nation.

For more on missionary education of Native American children, see Barr, "Pottawatomie Baptist Manual Labor Training School"; Neely, "Quaker Era of Cherokee Indian Education"; and Southwick, "Educating the Mind."

6. In the late 1920s and early 1930s federal schools went through a reform process initiated by a detailed report on the Office of Indian Affairs known as the Meriam Report, after Lewis Meriam, leader of the research team. Report published by the Institute for Government Research (see bibliography), which later became the Brookings Institution.

John Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1933 to 1945, instituted a radical change in federal Indian education policy. He supported the right of Native people to practice their own religions and instructed federal employees no longer to harass or prosecute Indians for their religious beliefs and practices. See Philip, *John Collier's Crusade for Indian Reform*.

7. Armstrong, *Indian Question*, 10. For excellent surveys of this philosophical and ideological genealogy, see Berkhofer, *White Man's Indian*; Dickason, *Myth of the Savage*; Jennings, *Invasion of America*; Pearce, *Savagism and Civilization*; and Takaki, *A Different Mirror*.

For more specific details on western European notions of the wilderness and the savagery it harbored, see Bartra, *Wild Men in the Looking Glass* and Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages*.

8. Van Well, *Educational Aspects of the Missions*, 1; Dickason, *Myth of the Savage*, 251, 274.

9. New France included the lands controlled by France in North America before 1763. It commonly refers to France's holdings in southcentral Canada and parts of what is now the northeastern United States, east and south of the Great Lakes.

10. Jaenen, "Education for Francization," 46.

11. New Spain, from 1521-1821, included territory now in the southwestern United States, Florida, Texas, Mexico, Central America north of Panama, the West Indies, and the Philippines.

12. See Sando, *Pueblo Nations*.

13. Van Well, *Educational Aspects of the Missions*, 22; Jackson and Castillo, *Indians, Franciscans, and Spanish Colonization*, 82. See also Findlay, "Elusive Institution" and Castillo, *Native American Perspectives*.

14. The purpose of learning the Native language was to facilitate the conversion and assimilation process; everyone involved in the "civilization" project believed in the ultimate transition to the French language. As Samuel Champlain commented, "With the French language they [Native peoples] may also acquire a French heart and spirit," quoted in Jaenen, "Education for Francization," 46.

15. Jennings, *Invasion of America*, 252; Simmons, "Conversion from Indian to Puritan," 215, 214.

16. In May 1677 the Massachusetts General Court restricted all Indians within the colony's jurisdiction to four plantations: Natick, Punkapaug, Hassanimesit, and Wamesit. In 1681 the four were reduced to three; Indians found outside these "reservations" were sent to "the House of Corrections or Prison," quoted in Kawashima, *Puritan Justice and the Indian*, 29.

See Szasz, *Indian Education in the American Colonies* for more details on English and federal colonial Indian education in New England. For information about the mission efforts of John Eliot, the Mayhews, and others, see Kawashima, *Puritan Justice and the Indian*; Simmons, "Conversion from Indian to Puritan"; Ronda, "'We Are Well as We Are'"; and Salisbury, *Manitou and Providence*.

17. See Bowden, *American Indians and Christian Missions* for background on the praying towns.

18. Society of Friends of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, *A Sketch*, 10.

19. Some colonies were established more for public relations than for transforming Indians. In the early 1900s the well-publicized File Hills Colony

in southern Saskatchewan was a showpiece for Canadian and international visitors; other Indians "were neither allowed to tour through or visit individually," quoted in Carter, "Demonstrating Success," 3.

20. Hampton Institute was founded in Virginia after the Civil War by General Samuel Chapman Armstrong, son of New England missionaries to Hawaii. The normal school was designed to educate freed African Americans as teachers for Black children in the South; Hampton was founded on a premise of racial hierarchy. Its students were inculcated with an ideology of White superiority and the "proper" place of the Black race as laborers in the Southern economy. Hampton also educated Indian children for a period in the late 1800s. For more on Hampton, see Hultgren and Molin, *To Lead and to Serve* and Lindsey, *Indians at Hampton Institute*.

21. Mathes, *Helen Hunt Jackson*, 131.

22. The author is grateful to Thomas Biolsi for bringing these communities to her attention. For more information, see Biolsi, *Organizing the Lakota* and Lomawaima, "Shacks, Huts, Coops and Wickiups."

23. Wilson, "'No Blanket to Be Worn in School'," 70.

24. Metlakatla, in British Columbia, was created in 1862 and strictly controlled by missionary William Duncan. In 1891 the U.S. Congress established the community of Metlakatla in southeastern Alaska for Tsimshian who had migrated from British Columbia, cited in Prucha, *Great Father*, 1129.

25. Jackson and Castillo, *Indians, Franciscans, and Spanish Colonization*, 13.

26. Barman, Hebert, and McCaskill, *Indian Education in Canada*, 8-9.

27. Barth, "Franciscan Education," 82, 102.

28. The first federal off-reservation boarding school was established in 1879 in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, under the command of Army officer Richard Henry Pratt. Chilocco, Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kansas, and Genoa Indian School in Nebraska were established in 1884. By the turn of the century, some 25 schools had been constructed. A few, such as Chemawa in Salem, Oregon, and Sherman Institute in Riverside, California, remain open today as high schools. Haskell, now known as Haskell Indian Nations University, is the only federally run college for American Indians. For histories of boarding schools and analyses of the impacts on Indian lives and communities, see Adams, *Education for Extinction*; Child, *Boarding School Seasons*; Child and Lomawaima, "Boarding School Education"; Coleman, *American Indian Children at School*; Haig-Brown, *Resistance and Renewal*; Hultgren and Molin, *To Lead and to Serve*; Ilyer, *One House, One Voice, One Heart*; Lindsey, *Indians at Hampton Institute*; Lomawaima, "Domesticity in the Federal Indian Schools"; Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light*; Lomawaima, "Educating Native Americans"; Lomawaima, "Estelle Reel"; Lomawaima, "Shacks, Huts, Coops and Wickiups"; and McBeth, *Ethnic Identity*.

29. Barth, "Franciscan Education," 192-194. See also Eggan, "Instruction and Affect."

30. Grant, *Moon of Wintertime*, 34, 50.

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31. Ibid., 62; Jackson and Castillo, *Indians, Franciscans, and Spanish Colonization*, 52, 68-69.

32. Grant, *Moon of Wintertime*, 51; Jaenen, "Education for Francization," 48. See also Persson, "Changing Experience."

33. Gresko, "Creating Little Dominions," 88-89.

34. Salisbury, "Red Puritans," 16.

35. See La Flesche, *Middle Five*; Johnston, *Indian School Days*; and Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light*.

36. Lomawaima, "Estelle Reel," 14.

37. Barth, "Franciscan Education," 82, 102. For discussions of how Native communities used silence and how communicative rules of Native language differ from English, see Philips, "Participant Structures"; Dumont, "Learning English"; and Basso, *Western Apache Language and Culture*.

38. Wilkins, *American Indian Sovereignty*, 1. Wilkins analyzes the acceptance of culturally based assumptions in the context of critical legal theory. He characterizes *natural* facts as "reification," or a "fallacy of misplaced concreteness."

39. See the decisions in *Lyng v. Northwest Indian Cemetery Protective Association*, 485 U.S. 439 (1988) and *Employment Division, Dept. of Human Resources v. Smith*, 494 U.S. 872 (1990), which deny First Amendment religious freedom protection to American Indian religions.

40. See Williams and Neubrech, *Indian Treaties* for the antitreaty view; see Whaley and Bresette, *Walleye Warriors* for an analysis of the treaty rights controversy in Wisconsin. (The author is grateful to Dave Wilkins for bringing this reference to her attention). See also Baron, *English-Only Question*; Crawford, *Hold Your Tongue*; Daniels, *Not Only English*; Gallegos, *English—Our Official Language?*; and Piatt, *Only English?*

41. See Lomawaima, "Educating Native Americans."

42. A number of important histories of colonial education of Indians and federal Indian policy do not analyze events occurring after the 1930s or 1940s. Collectively, the literature suggests we are in a postcolonial period, but this chapter aims to question that assumption. Books that stop at or near the 1930s include Adams, *Education for Extinction*; Child, *Boarding School Seasons*; Coleman, *American Indian Children at School*; Hoxie, *A Final Promise*; and Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light*. Exceptions include DeJong, *Promises of the Past* and Szasz, *Education and the American Indian*.

43. See Dupuis and Walker, "Circle of Learning at Kickapoo"; Fiordo, "Great Learning Enterprise"; Hornberger, *Indigenous Literacies in the Americas*; Lipka and Stairs, "Negotiating the Culture of Indigenous Schools"; McCarty, "School as Community"; Palmer, "Language and Culture Approach"; Rosier and Holm, *Rock Point Experience*; Watahomigie and McCarty, "Language in Literacy"; McCarty and Zepeda, "Indigenous Language Education and Literacy"; and Stokes, "Curriculum for Native American Students."

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CHAPTER 2

Tribal Control of American Indian Education

Observations Since the 1960s with Implications for the Future

JOHN W. TIPPECONNIC III[1]

In the midst of educational reform and improvement across the United States, a movement toward self-determination is taking place among American Indians and Alaska Natives.[2] This movement toward Indian control of Indian education actually started in the 1960s, secured legislation in the 1970s, survived the 1980s, picked up momentum in the 1990s, and promises to gain even greater significance beyond 2000. A system of education controlled by Indian tribes is developing. It includes every level of education—from early childhood to graduate school. Increasingly, American Indian students will have choices and alternatives to traditional public and Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) schools and to mainstream colleges and universities. In tribal educational settings, American Indian languages and cultures will form the foundation on which all knowledge is built. Mainstream schools interested in exploring alternative ways of teaching and learning will have new opportunities to establish mutually beneficial connections with tribally controlled schools that emphasize Indigenous knowledge and "Native ways of knowing."

This chapter discusses the history and nature of Indian control of Indian education since the 1960s and its implications for the future.

◆

Numerous studies and reports have concluded that tribal/local control of formal education in schools is absolutely necessary if education for American Indians is to improve significantly. Local control of public education is a right and responsibility of the states, implied by the U.S. Constitution's lack of mention of any federal role. Local or tribal control is also a basic principle inherent in the sovereignty status of American Indian tribes. The current federal policy of tribal self-determination, supported by legislation, provides the administrative mechanism for tribes to assume greater control over their own affairs, including education.

Tribal control is also essential for another reason. Historically, the United States has used education to change and assimilate American Indians, or put another way, to eliminate the Indians by the systematic destruction of tribal languages and cultures in schools. This cultural genocide of tribal people is a tragedy and an irony in a country that supposedly values diversity. Assimilation has not worked, but its impact is reflected in education statistics and in the poor quality of schooling received by many American Indian students today. Formal education has placed too many Indian students at risk of failing in both Native and mainstream American societies. Tribal control is necessary not only to achieve tribal and individual self-sufficiency but to reclaim and strengthen the use of Native languages and cultures in schools and communities, thus ensuring a strong future for all Indian people.

Brief History

Indian control of education is not new. The Cherokee and Choctaw tribes operated successful school systems in which they taught in their Native languages and English during the nineteenth century. The quality of education in the Cherokee and Choctaw schools, including written English, was superior to that of the White people around them. The federal government, favoring an assimilation approach to education, did away with these successful tribal schools.[1]

Today's Indian control movement is based on these early tribal education success stories. It is viewed as a way to address the adverse affects the assimilation policy had on Indian education, including limited student success, lack of tribal control, and limited parental involvement.

Contemporary Indian control is rooted in efforts to involve parents and other tribal members in the education of their children. The Meriam Report called for a new attitude and approach to educating Indian students: "The most fundamental need in Indian education is a change in the point of view."[5] It also called for the use of Indian language and culture in Indian education. Further, the Meriam Report recommended the following:

> The whole task of community participation, so important for the Indian, has to be consciously worked at; for example, the Indians should be serving on school committees in the day school as a means of enlisting their general interest in all that involves the child's education and development, and also as a gradual preparation for service on boards of education.[6]

The Great Society programs of the 1960s focused on local community development and action in education. The change in federal Indian policy from cultural termination to tribal self-determination called for more Indian involvement and Indian control in education. In 1968 President Johnson demanded the establishment of Indian school boards at federal Indian schools. By May 1969, 174 of the BIA's 222 schools had advisory boards. The number of Indians on public school boards also increased during the late 1960s.[7]

The Kennedy Report recommended "that Indian parental and community involvement be increased . . . that state and local communities facilitate and encourage Indian community and parental involvement in the development and operation of public education programs for Indian students . . . that there be a national policy committing . . . to maximum participation and control by Indians in establishing Indian education programs." Further, the Kennedy Report recommended support for successful schools under Indian control, such as Rough Rock Demonstration School and community colleges like Navajo Community College (now known as Diné College).[8]

In 1966 Rough Rock Demonstration School was established on the Navajo Reservation. It marked the first time an elected school board, comprising all Indians, had complete control of a school. An early Rough Rock Demonstration School publication offers a glimpse of the board's philosophy and expectations of Indian control:

> Rough Rock Demonstration School will show whether or not so called uneducated and unsophisticated Indians can assume leadership and control over the total education of their community. In the past the "father knows best" attitude was most frequently practiced and the level of local community involvement was minimal.
>
> The philosophy underlying and permeating the Rough Rock Demonstration School is that the Navajo people have the right and ability to direct and provide leadership in the education of their community. Rough Rock is funded by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Office of Economic Opportunity but it BELONGS to the Navajo people. The true "bosses" of the school are not the BIA, OEO, or even the school officials but rather the Navajo people and Rough Rock Community itself. This is the challenge and the opportunity awaiting this school at this community.[9]

Parents and other community members at Rough Rock were welcomed to participate in all school activities. The curriculum and teaching methods integrated the Navajo culture and language.[10] The American Indian Policy Review Commission found that

> Indian community controlled schools are the most significant education system for Indians today. They are restoring the self-image and interest in learning among Indian young people. They are lowering the drop-out rate and restoring responsibility and discipline among our young people. They are graduating young people who have solid basic skills and a good feeling about themselves and their heritage.[11]

In 1968 Navajo Community College became the first institution of higher education controlled by an Indian tribe. Navajo Community College's philosophy and academic program were based on the "Navajo way" with institutional governance by an all-Navajo board of regents. In 1971 Congress passed the *Navajo Community College Act*, which provided federal financial support to the college.[12]

The 1972 *Indian Education Act* appropriated funds to public schools to meet the culturally related academic needs of Indian students. Parent involvement was encouraged through mandated parent committees. The Act also directed discretionary funds to Indian institutions, organizations, tribes, and individuals for educational services that ranged from early childhood to graduate school.

In 1975 the *Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act* (Public Law 93-638) authorized the federal government to enter into "638" contracts with Indian tribes and tribal organizations for tribal operation of BIA and Indian Health Service programs. The Johnson O'Malley program was amended to allow for more Indian control of contracts to public schools. In 1978 the *Tribally Controlled Community College Assistance Act* provided financial support to tribal colleges.[13]

The *Education Amendments* of 1978 (Public Law 95-561) declared, "It shall be the policy of the BIA in carrying out the functions of the Bureau, to facilitate Indian control of Indian affairs in all matters relating to education." Among other things, Public Law 95-561 recognized the lack of Indian involvement and participation in education and stressed local involvement and control. In 1988 Congress passed the *Tribally Controlled School Act* (Public Law 100-297), which allowed for the direct granting (as opposed to contracting) of funds to school boards to operate schools. Public Law 100-297 also authorized the BIA to fund tribal departments of education, none of which have ever been funded.[14]

This congressional legislation did not happen because of the goodwill of Congress or presidential administrations. Rather, it was because of the political wisdom and persistence of Indian educators, Indian institutions, Indian organizations, tribes, and other driving forces behind legislative and executive branch actions. The Coalition of Indian Controlled School Boards (CICSB), National Indian Education Association (NIEA), National Congress of American Indians (NCAI), American Indian Higher Education Consortium (AIHEC), National Indian School Boards Association (NISBA), Native American Rights Fund (NARF), Navajo Area School Boards Association (NASBA), and the Association of Community Tribal Schools (ACTS) are just some of the organizations that played key roles with the White House and Congress in advancing Indian education.

In the 1990s the policy of self-determination coincided with efforts to downsize and redesign the federal government. The results were an increased push for tribal control and flexibility of BIA resources through tribal self-governance and a revision of the budget process to include funding to tribes through Tribal Priority Allocations.[17] However, a concern associated with this push for tribal control of resources is the limited existing funds, with little new money to enhance tribal control.

It is clear that tribal control and Indian control of education are being realized within the federal system, especially by those programs and schools supported by the BIA. During the 1994-95 school year, for the first time in history, there were more tribally controlled schools (93) than BIA-operated schools (92) at the elementary and secondary levels. Today more than 114 tribally controlled schools educate more than 50,000 students. The numbers will continue to increase as long as funds and opportunities are available to support tribal control of education.

Tribal colleges are probably the most successful examples of Indian control of education. Today more than 25,000 students attend 31 tribal colleges in the United States and Canada. This success is demonstrated by the colleges' designation in 1994 as land-grant institutions (Public Law 103-382) and by the W. K. Kellogg Foundation's Native American Higher Education Initiative to strengthen and improve tribal colleges and other higher education institutions.

Public education has felt the presence of Indian involvement rather than tribal control. It is safe to assume parents, tribal community members, and tribes are more involved in public school education today. However, we cannot say that tribal control exists at the public school level because states have authority for public education.

Observations about Tribal Control of Education

Several observations can be made about tribal control of education, based on a review of the literature. These observations fall into five thematic groups: the meaning and significance of tribal control; players, roles, and responsibilities; successes and potential; challenges; and research findings and needs.

The Meaning and Significance of Tribal Control.

A 1997 statement issued by the National Congress of American Indians and the National Indian Education Association asserts that the education of American Indians

> takes place in complex and often confusing environments given the roles and expectations of parents, local schools, communities, tribes, states, and the federal government. This complexity of the inter-governmental arena in which Indian learners are provided schooling requires a focused federal Indian education policy which recognizes the authority of tribal governments, the federal-tribal government relationship and the history of federal involvement in the education of American Indians in federal, tribal, and state schools. The political/legal status of tribal governments includes as one aspect of sovereignty a primacy authority in the education of tribal members.[16]

Outside of Indian country, few people realize that Indian tribes do not fall under the jurisdiction of states but are recognized as sovereign bodies by the federal government. As such, tribal governments have the legal right to make decisions about how to educate tribal members.

Indian control of education is different from tribal control. The terms *Indian parent involvement, community control, local control,* and *tribal control* are often used interchangeably to denote aspects of Indian control of education. But these terms do not necessarily mean the same thing. The most significant difference is between tribal control and local or community control, with tribal control meaning that the actual tribal government is in control and local or community control usually meaning that school boards comprise community members. Parent involvement does not mean tribal control. Tribally controlled schools can mean tribal control if schools are sanctioned or chartered by tribal governments.

Loretta DeLong, in defining Indian control, makes a distinction between organizational and infrastructure levels. An organizational level of Indian control is exhibited in schools that are controlled and primarily staffed by tribal members. Indian control at the infrastructure level is exhibited when the school curriculum reflects the culture, language, teachings, and values of the tribe. She contends the focus has been on the organizational level rather than the infrastructure level.[17]

Tribal control is essential to self-determination. Tribal control is in keeping with the government-to-government relationship and the policy of tribal self-determination. Tribal control is a basic principle inherent in the sovereignty status of American Indian tribes. Its premise is that the education of American Indians will be most effective when controlled directly by tribal governments. Tribal control is essential to achieve self-sufficiency and to strengthen the use of Native languages and cultures in schools.[18]

True tribal control is a recent development. The establishment of Rough Rock Demonstration School in 1966 was the first time since the Cherokee and Choctaw schools, 120 years earlier, that an Indian community had been allowed to have some control over educating its children. Today's tribal schools are "young and experimental" and growing.[19] Although the developing tribally controlled system includes early childhood education through graduate study, gaining the involvement of the communities will take a sustained effort over time. Roger Bordeaux explains, "Once communities assume control of the educational process they must deal with the vestiges of an education system that tried to stamp out all remnants of Indian culture and values." There is a long history of exclusion of Indian parents and tribes in schools that promoted assimilation.[20]

This is an active time in the tribal control movement. Although tribal control is a national movement, this does not mean there is a single national tribal system or that national education standards apply to all schools. Rather, the movement is at the tribal level, with increasing numbers of tribes gaining greater control of the schools serving their members. With more than 560 tribes, different approaches to tribal control are to be expected. Tribally controlled education systems have developed especially well in Indian communities with tribal colleges. For example, in collaboration with the teacher education program at Sinte Gleska University, the Rosebud Tribal Department of Education is developing an education code that will influence the schooling of its tribal members for years to come.[21]

Across the United States, K-12, higher education, and other tribally controlled education programs have developed networks and organizations to enhance collaboration. They often partner with professional organizations such as NIEA, NCAI, AIHEC, and ACTS to improve Indian education and advance local and tribal control. Despite all this activity, the movement toward tribal control of Indian education is not well known outside Indian country, which could pose a problem in gaining funding. Funding is needed, in accordance with Public Law 100-297, to develop further and maintain tribal departments of education. The general public needs to become more knowledgeable and supportive of this effort to improve educational outcomes for American Indians and Alaska Natives.[22]

Players, Roles, and Responsibilities

Most students attend public schools, which are controlled by the states. The majority (approximately 90 percent) of American Indian students at the K-12 level attend public schools. States differ in their overall relationships with tribes. Issues that influence tribal-state relations include sovereignty of tribes, economic development, environmental protection, public safety, taxes, child welfare, gaming, and education. Noneducation issues often overshadow Indian education issues and make education less of a priority for legislators.[23]

History tells us states have not always been responsive to the needs of Indian students in public schools, nor have they typically included parents and tribes in decision making about public education. Growing numbers realize that tribal-state relations must improve if a high-quality educational experience is to be offered to American Indians in public schools. Various groups have called for increased partnerships; better communication; the education of state representatives about sovereignty, tribal governments, and Indian perspectives; and the education of tribal members about state governments and their effect on tribes. In the meantime, some tribes—like the Rosebud Sioux—have taken the initiative in developing their own education codes to govern education on their reservations, regardless of school type.[24]

The federal government has major financial responsibility for the education of American Indians. Tribal sovereignty and treaties form the legal basis for the government-to-government relationship, trust, federal legislation, executive decisions, court decisions, and the policy of tribal self-determination. Tribal sovereignty needs to be understood better by the general public and government entities.[25]

Long-term difficulties schools and tribes have experienced in working with the federal bureaucracy have included threats to terminate the recognition of particular tribal nations; resistance from the president, BIA, and other federal employees; and difficulty in arranging contracts with the federal government. In 1988 some of these difficulties were alleviated by Public Law 100-297, which authorized grants to schools. Today, most Indian-controlled schools operate under grants from the BIA.[26]

More often than not, Indian education is not a priority at state, federal, tribal, and local school system levels. The education of American Indians appears to be forgotten and considered insignificant at times. At the national level, awareness and concern about Indian education seems to fluctuate according to political, economic, and social issues of the day. Congressional appropriation committees continue to give Indian education little priority and actually impede the growth of tribal control by including budget language that limits the growth of tribal schools. Often, tribal governments pay little attention to education issues, focusing instead on economic, natural resource, and political issues.[27]

Successes and Potential

There is increasing evidence that when tribes control education, American Indian students do better. For example, the American Indian Policy Review Commission reported that drop-out rates were down at Indian-controlled schools. A study by Bordeaux indicates high school completion rates increased from 20-30 percent in 1970 to 65-80 percent in 1996. However, earlier in the decade, Melody L. McCoy contended that "inroads have been made, but tribal control is still indirect, uncoordinated, or too limited. Legislation is needed that confirms and supports direct tribal control over all education systems that serve tribal children." Bordeaux predicts that over the next five years, Indian-controlled schools will show "major improvements in academic achievement, tribal language preservation, success in postsecondary education, and relevant employment."[28]

Challenges

Many challenges lie ahead for those tribes already in control of their schools and for those tribes currently seeking control. The challenges described here relate to obtaining adequate funding, improving academic performance, increasing the presence of Native cultures and languages, increasing parental and tribal involvement, upgrading school facilities, developing Indian leadership and staffing, and obtaining accreditation.

Obtaining adequate funding. Funding continues to be a challenge. Adequate funding has been a major concern since the 1928 Meriam Report:

> [Indian education] will cost more money than the present program. The real choice before the government is between doing a mediocre job thereby piling up for the future serious problems in poverty, disease, and crime, and spending more for an acceptable social and educational program. . . . Cheapness in education is expensive.[29]

Today there continues to be a lack of adequate funding for tribal schools, and the funding that *is* available is inconsistent and lacks stability. Funding is also inadequate for tribal colleges and for "training centers, for teachers and administrators, and for research and development of new educational techniques and procedures."[30]

The Department of Interior appropriation committees in Congress play the most important role in funding BIA-supported education and schools. A major challenge is to educate and convince Congress about the importance of tribal control of education and its potential for improving the overall development of American Indian communities. Most recently, the appropriation committees placed a moratorium on the number of BIA-supported schools and restricted school grade expansions. Congress may also limit the number of tribal grant schools because the administrative expenses allocated to tribal schools would increase.[31]

Gaming has directly helped education, often at tribally controlled institutions. Most tribes with gaming profits invest funds in education, often improving or building new school facilities and providing higher education scholarships.

Improving the academic performance of American Indian students. Many American Indian students do well on academic achievement tests, but most score below national norms. Research by Donna Deyhle and Karen Swisher shows American Indians and White students in the United States have similar capabilities for learning, but many Indians struggle with ongoing "attitudes and beliefs of inferiority."[32]

In some cases, measurement problems make it difficult to tell how well American Indian students are actually performing. Bordeaux reports some criticisms of standardized, nationally normed tests and discusses possible benefits of alternative performance-based assessment tools. Tribal schools, aware of the student-testing situation, are exploring alternative means of assessment.[33]

Increasing the infusion of Indian cultures and languages into the curriculum. One major benefit of Indian involvement in and tribal control of education is the increasing presence of American Indian languages and cultures in education, including the practice of bilingual-bicultural education. The importance of language and culture in meeting the needs of American Indian students is recognized in new mathematics, science, and technology guidelines developed for schools and communities.[34]

An example of groundbreaking work in the area of culturally responsive schools is Gregory Cajete's book *Look to the Mountains*, which presents an Indigenous education framework including a curriculum mandala for science. Another example is the work of the Alaska Rural Systemic Initiative, which is making significant contributions by developing and integrating Alaska Native knowledge and ways of knowing into state standards and classrooms across the state.[35]

Despite these exemplary efforts, the overall effort to integrate American Indian culture and language into school curricula is piecemeal and has realized marginal degrees of success. Tribal schools generally have more potential and are more successful in cultural integration than public schools, where control of school philosophy and curriculum is located in the state departments of education and local school boards.

Increasing parental and tribal involvement. Contemporary parental and Indian involvement in formal schooling is relatively new; tribal control of education is even newer. Meaningful involvement and control began in the 1960s but really took hold when it was mandated by the *Indian Education Act* of 1972 through program advisory parent committees. Still, the relatively low level of parent involvement continues to be an issue today, requiring educators to seek new ways to involve parents beyond serving on committees and participating in special school activities. Parents need to be involved in their children's education on a daily basis and to promote use of their tribal languages.[76]

Achieving high levels of parent involvement is not easy to do. Neither is the task of obtaining local and tribal control. Many barriers impede progress, drain resources, and divert attention away from improving teaching and learning. There has been an ongoing need for technical assistance since the 1970s. Gaining Indian control happens more readily in federally controlled BIA schools than public schools because of federal responsibility in Indian education, the national policy of tribal self-determination, and existing federal legislation. Indian control is more difficult to achieve in public schools because of states' authority over education.[77]

Parental involvement and tribal control connect communities to schools. This is true at both the college and K-12 levels. When community involvement is high, the school becomes a focal point and is involved in the reconstitution of community life.[78]

Upgrading school facilities. School facilities serving Indian communities at the K-12 level are often obsolete, ill designed, or even condemned. There is a strong need for facilities construction at tribal colleges. Studies from the 1970s identified a shortage of school construction funds as the most immediate financial problem in Indian education for schools eligible for Public Law 815 (*Federally Impacted Areas Aid Act*) funds.[79] The situation has not improved. New school construction, renovations, and repair of existing facilities are major problems in BIA-supported schools. There exists a backlog of at least $700 million in needed renovations and repairs alone.[80]

Developing Indian leadership and staffing. There is a need to prepare more Indian people for leadership roles including staff, teacher, administrator, and school board roles. The same need exists for faculty development programs at tribal colleges. Indian involvement and control can be achieved only when leadership is provided by Indian people, tribes, educators, organizations, and institutions.[41]

Obtaining accreditation. Institutional accreditation and the certification of staff are concerns because of the creative, innovative, and unusual approaches to education that are grounded in tribal languages and cultures. Mainstream accrediting institutions may not recognize these approaches. Tribally controlled institutions, on the other hand, value staff that know Native languages and cultures, and can recognize this knowledge in accreditation and certification efforts.[42]

Research Findings and Needs

There is greater knowledge about what works in Indian education than existed in previous eras. Deyhle and Swisher conclude that research has made a difference in Indian education. They report we know more about cultural differences, student learning styles, why students leave school before graduation, the difference caring teachers can make, the role a strong grounding in culture and language can play in enhancing achievement, and the impact on schooling of local knowledge combined with Native language. Finding additional knowledge about what works in tribal schools is very likely, given their educational philosophies and tribal approaches to education.

American Indians are becoming more involved in and gaining control of research—including educational research.[43] Most tribes and tribal schools have policies and procedures that control research, ensure Indian involvement, and ensure that research findings are put to good use.[44] Tribes and schools are increasingly engaged in conducting their own research, and the number of American Indian research scholars has increased. The *Journal of American Indian Education*, *Tribal College Journal of American Indian Higher Education*, and *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* are publications that disseminate Indian education research.

There is a need to study virtually every aspect of tribal control including the policy of tribal self-determination. Research must determine not only how well students are doing academically but also explore how Native languages, cultures, and ways of knowing influence the teaching-learning process in local and tribally controlled education settings. Tribal schools need to be compared with public schools to ensure parity and equity in resources and budgets.

Conclusions

The Indian control movement in education gained momentum in the 1990s; indications are that tribal control will become even more established and prominent during the twenty-first century. Indian control of Indian education has been difficult to achieve, slow to develop, fragmented in its approach, and besieged with numerous obstacles and problems. At times, survival has been the main concern. Yet, the movement has persisted, gathered strength, become more focused, and is increasingly successful. Support and leadership from tribes, institutions, organizations, governments, and individuals have proven essential to the tribal control movement.

The developing tribal system of education will not only benefit students attending tribal schools, it has the potential to help Indian students who attend public schools and mainstream colleges and universities—especially in integrating Indian cultures and languages to enhance student learning. The development of relevant high-quality standards and assessment tools will benefit all Indian education. Ultimately, tribal control of education will help current and future Indian leadership achieve greater tribal self-sufficiency and help ensure cultural and language survival and growth in the future.

Notes

1. John W. Tippeconnic III (Comanche) teaches Education Policy Studies and directs the American Indian Leadership Program at The Pennsylvania State University.

2. Throughout this chapter, the term *American Indian* is inclusive of Eskimos, Aleuts, and other Alaska Natives. At times, "Indian" or "Native" might be used to refer to American Indians and Alaska Natives. The BIA does not currently operate any schools in Alaska; the last was turned over to the state in 1986. The Johnson O'Malley (JOM) program provides the only BIA funds for elementary and secondary students in Alaska.

3. The intent here is to discuss briefly the history of Indian control of education. Detailed descriptive histories of Indian education can be found in the American Indian Policy Review Commission, *Report on Indian Education*; Senate Special Subcommittee, *Indian Education*; National Advisory Council, *Indian Education* (commonly known as the Kennedy Report); and

Szasz, *Education and the American Indian.* A history of tribally controlled colleges is found in Stein, *Tribally Controlled Colleges.*

4. See McKinley, Bayne, and Nimnicht, *Who Should Control Indian Education?* and Senate Special Subcommittee, *Indian Education.*

5. Institute for Government Research, *Problem of Indian Administration*, 346 (hereafter cited as Meriam Report).

6. Ibid., 414.

7. See Fuchs and Havinghurst, *To Live on This Earth.*

8. Senate Special Subcommittee, *Indian Education*, 119, 135, 106.

9. *Rough Rock Demonstration School*, 2.

10. See Johnson, *Navaho Education at Rough Rock*; McKinley, Bayne, and Nimnicht, *Who Should Control Indian Education?*; and Szasz, *Education and the American Indian.*

11. American Indian Policy Review Commission, *Report on Indian Education*, 265.

12. See Szasz, *Education and the American Indian* and Stein, *Tribally Controlled Colleges.*

13. See Ernest L. Boyer, *Tribal Colleges.*

14. Bordeaux, *Our Children*, 7.

15. For more information on tribal colleges, see Tippeconnic, "Editorial."

16. National Congress of American Indians, *Comprehensive Federal Indian Education*, 2.

17. DeLong, "Indian Controlled Schools," 13-14.

18. See McCoy, *Role of Tribal Governments.*

19. See Huff, *To Live Heroically.*

20. Bordeaux, *Our Children*, 3. See also McKinley, Bayne, and Nimnicht, *Who Should Control Indian Education?* and Senate Special Subcommittee, *Indian Education.*

21. See McCoy, *Role of Tribal Governments.*

22. See White House Conference on Indian Education, *Final Report.*

23. See Reed and Zelio, *States and Tribes.*

24. See Senate Special Subcommittee, *Indian Education*; Education Commission of the States, *Indian Education*; Indian Nations At Risk Task Force, *Indian Nations At Risk* (hereafter cited as *Indian Nations At Risk*); Reed and Zelio, *States and Tribes*; and McCoy, *Role of Tribal Governments.*

25. See *Indian Nations At Risk*; Tippeconnic, "Education of American Indians"; and Pavel, Swisher, and Ward, "Special Focus."

26. See American Indian Policy Review Commission, *Report on Indian Education*; Szasz, *Education and the American Indian*; Bordeaux, *Our Children*; and Dupris, *American Indian Community Controlled Education.*

27. See Tippeconnic, "Education of American Indians" and Tippeconnic, "Editorial."

28. McCoy, *Role of Tribal Governments*, 10; Bordeaux, *Our Children*, 4.

29. Meriam Report, 347-348.

30. Dupris, *American Indian Community Controlled Education*, 22. See also Bordeaux, *Our Children*; American Indian Policy Review Commission, *Report on Indian Education*; Ernest L. Boyer, *Tribal Colleges*; and Paul Boyer, *Native American Colleges*.

31. See Tippeconnic, "Editorial."

32. See Tippeconnic and Swisher, "American Indian Education" and Deyhle and Swisher, "Research in American Indian and Alaska Native Education."

33. See Bordeaux, *Assessment for American Indian and Alaska Native Learners*.

34. See Johnson, *Navaho Education*; American Indian Policy Review Commission, *Report on Indian Education*; and American Indian Science & Engineering Society, *Educating*.

35. See Alaska Native Knowledge Network, http://www.ankn.uaf.edu/NPE.html (25 November 1998).

36. See *Indian Nations At Risk*.

37. See Huff, *To Live Heroically* and American Indian Policy Review Commission, *Report on Indian Education*.

38. See Paul Boyer, *Native American Colleges*; Dupris, *American Indian Community Controlled Education*; and American Indian Policy Review Commission, *Report on Indian Education*.

39. P.L. 815, the *Federally Impacted Areas Aid Act*, was passed in 1950 to assist school districts in the education of students who lived on federal lands, including reservations. The act is not solely for Indians but for any student who lives on federal land, including children who live on military bases. There are two impacted aid laws, 815 and 874. P.L. 815 provides funds for school construction in federally impacted areas. Initially these funds were not applied to Indian students, but the law was amended in 1953 to include Indians.

40. Tippeconnic, "Editorial," 4. See also Bordeaux, *Our Children*; Ernest L. Boyer, *Tribal Colleges*; Paul Boyer, *Native American Colleges*; and Rosenfelt, "Toward a More Coherent Policy."

41. See American Indian Policy Review Commission, *Report on Indian Education*; Huff, *To Live Heroically*; Ernest L. Boyer, *Tribal Colleges*; and Paul Boyer, *Native American Colleges*.

42. See Ernest L. Boyer, *Tribal Colleges*.

43. See Deyhle and Swisher, "Research in American Indian and Alaska Native Education"; Swisher, "Why Indian People"; Tippeconnic and Swisher, "American Indian Education"; and Robbins and Tippeconnic, *Research in American Indian Education*.

44. See Tippeconnic and Swisher, "American Indian Education."

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CHAPTER 3

Education and the Law
Implications for American Indian/ Alaska Native Students

LINDA SUE WARNER[1]

The right to an education is not a federal right; no references to education are found in the U.S. Constitution. As a result, education is considered a state responsibility. The federal government assumes responsibility for education of American Indian/Alaska Native[2] students through the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) and through education legislation that targets federally recognized tribes.

This chapter provides an overview of federal education case law and legislation. Case law references are U.S. Supreme Court decisions, except as noted. The chapter further discusses the doctrine of *in loco parentis* and its potential applicability for Indian tribes. The overview summarizes general case law applicable to all students. Interpretations with specific implications for American Indian students are included where relevant. Currently, there is no Supreme Court education case law applicable specifically to American Indian students.

In April 1998 the Central Section Coordinator for the Committee for Native American Rights sent a memorandum to all schools in

California with American Indian mascots, nicknames, or logos.[1] The memorandum advised the schools that a lawsuit against the Los Angeles School District had been upheld in federal district court. Referring to this landmark decision, the committee invited all California schools with American Indian mascots or nicknames to "reconsider" their stances. Although the decision is limited to the jurisdiction of the federal district court where it was delivered, other district courts may eventually cite this ruling as precedence. At this writing, the plaintiffs had not decided whether to appeal the case. Only U.S. Supreme Court decisions become "the law of the land," and the mascot issue is not slated for Supreme Court review at this time.

School Law and the U.S. Legal System

JUDICIAL SYSTEM

There are 50 state court systems, a court system for the District of Columbia, and a federal court system. Each court within a system is identified by its jurisdiction. Jurisdiction often refers to the geographic area over which a particular court has authority. Jurisdiction refers to the power of a court to adjudicate a dispute. To have the power to order a defendant to do anything (or refrain from doing anything), a court must have personal jurisdiction over the defendant.

Jurisdiction alludes to the extent of power a court has over certain subject matter or a particular kind of dispute. These are some of the more common classifications of subject matter jurisdiction:

- **Limited or special jurisdiction**. A criminal court of limited jurisdiction cannot take a noncriminal case.
- **General jurisdiction**. A state court of general jurisdiction can handle any case that raises state questions (state constitution, state statutes, or state common law).
- **Exclusive jurisdiction**. An example of exclusive jurisdiction is juvenile court.
- **Concurrent jurisdiction**. An example of concurrent jurisdiction is family court and county court, which have jurisdiction to enforce a child custody order.
- **Original jurisdiction, trial court, or court of first instance**. The first court to hear and decide a case. This court may overlap with other designations of jurisdiction.
- **Appellate jurisdiction**. This court can hear appeals from lower tribunals. An appeal is a review of what a lower court or agency has done to determine if there was any error. Sometimes, a party can appeal to

This example accentuates an Indian education issue: the breadth of education case law at the Supreme Court level is minimal. Yet the existing education case law is applicable to Indian students in public and tribal schools. This chapter reviews briefly the Supreme Court cases that serve as the primary basis for education policy and regulation. Also reviewed is education legislation that targets American Indian populations.

School law, as many specialized fields in law, requires a general understanding of the legal system in this country (see box below). This general understanding can be applied to schools serving American Indian populations. It is important to note that schools serve

the appellate court as a matter of right; in other kinds of cases, the appellate court has discretion as to whether it will hear the appeal.

STATE COURTS

Depending on the state, there may be one or more levels of trial courts that hear disputes, determine case facts, and make initial determinations or rulings. These are courts of original jurisdiction. State courts may also review cases initially decided by an administrative agency. State courts have variously configured appellate courts based on the state's constitution. Case law specific to states is not reviewed in this work because of its limited applicability to all Indian students.

FEDERAL COURT SYSTEM

The federal court system, like those of the states, consists of two basic kinds: courts of original jurisdiction (trial courts) and appellate courts. The basic federal trial courts are U.S. district courts. There are about 100 districts, including at least one for every state, the District of Columbia, Guam, the Virgin Islands, and Puerto Rico. Specialized courts include the U.S. Tax Court, U.S. Claims Court and U.S. Court of International Trade.

Appeals courts have two levels: middle appeals and final appeals. Primary courts at the middle level are U.S. courts of appeals: eleven comprising groups of states and territories, with a twelfth for the District of Columbia. Their primary function is to review the decisions of federal courts of original jurisdiction.

The federal court of final appeals is the U.S. Supreme Court; it provides the final review of decisions of all federal courts and federal agencies. The Supreme Court may also review state court decisions that raise questions involving the U.S. Constitution or a federal statute. The Supreme Court does not hear every case presented to it.

primarily a state function, and each state organizes and supervises education as its constitution and statues allow. The Tenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution provides the basis for state control: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."[4]

Case law is not the only source of law. Constitutions, statutes, ordinances, and regulations are also sources for education law. The legislative branch of government is responsible for passing laws. Citizens are more likely to be aware of case law than legislation because of the media attention to court opinions at all levels. The function of the courts is to resolve or adjudicate disputes by interpreting and applying applicable constitutions, statutes, ordinances, and regulations. Suppose a dispute comes before a court and no statutes, ordinances, regulations, or constitutional provisions govern the facts of the dispute. The judge will rely on prior opinions in which the court has established rules for this type of dispute. If no such opinions exist, the judge may be forced to create new rules. Such judicially created rules are referred to collectively as *common law*. Judges create common law in their written opinions.

Trust Responsibility

When case law involves American Indian individuals or tribes, it is important to understand the federal government's trust responsibility to tribal entities. Case law involving the BIA is handled by the Department of Interior's Solicitor's Office. If the matter goes to court, the Department of Justice may represent the BIA. Both Interior and Justice have responsibilities to other government agencies. Conflict of interest specific to Indian tribes is not unusual within the government. The Supreme Court has made it clear that, in such circumstances, tribes cannot be favored.[5] Tribes cannot be relieved of the res judicata[6] effect merely because the government has represented both the tribes and those competing with them.[7] While the trust responsibility for education has been debated and/or ignored by executive priority over the years, the courts have supported education for American Indians. The courts have asserted in some opinions that while no legal obligation can be found in treaties, the federal government's historical moral obligation for education takes precedence.[6]

Jurisdiction in Indian country is determined by a complex mixture of factors including the existence or nonexistence of applicable specific federal jurisdictional or regulatory statutes governing the issue. For example, in a 1985 case, the Supreme Court held that a non-Indian party could sue in federal court under federal Indian law to contest a tribal court's authority to exercise jurisdiction over a civil dispute.[7] However, non-Indian individuals seeking to invoke federal court jurisdiction must first exhaust all tribal court remedies before proceeding. This decision helped establish the relationship of tribal and federal courts for cases involving non-Indians.[8]

Despite the history of Indian/non-Indian affairs, the number of court cases that specifically address Indian education is nearly nonexistent. However, this may correlate to the relatively small number of federal laws that specifically address education issues. School officials need a basic understanding of school law to make informed decisions. Case law and legislation form the basic framework for decision making in schools.

Case Law

Case law in education falls into the following general areas: discipline, curriculum, free speech, tort law, equity, special education, finance, and compulsory attendance. Case law at any level is bound by the jurisdiction of the court; comparable jurisdictions may have conflicting rulings in case law. This section highlights education case law at the U.S. Supreme Court level. These rulings apply to all schools, but some carry additional implications for American Indians.

Discipline. The 1977 Supreme Court case *Ingraham v. Wright*[10] considered whether corporal punishment constituted "cruel and unusual punishment" as prohibited by the Eighth Amendment to the Constitution. In its decision (five to four), the Court ruled paddling does not require Eighth Amendment protections. The court ruled that paddling neither violated any substantive rights nor caused any student to suffer any grievous loss. Requiring notice and a hearing for every corporal punishment case would, according to the Court, "significantly burden the use of corporal punishment as a disciplinary measure." Most states have laws prohibiting corporal punishment, and even in states without such laws, school officials often discipline students without the use of corporal punishment. Federal and tribal schools typically prohibit the use of corporal punishment.

The due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment was found to apply to students in *Goss v. Lopez*,[11] a 1975 Supreme Court case. Nine public school students in Columbus, Ohio, had been suspended from school for up to 10 days for various misconducts connected with student unrest. None had been given the benefit of a hearing. The Court reasoned that students have two protections under the constitution: property interest in a free education and liberty interest in a freedom from injury to the students' reputation. The Court found that students should receive at least

- oral or written notice of the charges, and if the student denies the charges, then
- a summary of the evidence against the student, and
- an informal opportunity to present his or her side of the story.

BIA schools and tribally controlled schools have policies and procedures sanctioned by local boards that include due process activities for students alleged to have broken school rules.

Curriculum. Curriculum questions presented to the Supreme Court provide a range of decisions, some touching on other issues such as academic freedom and freedom of speech or press. A 1963 case, *School District of Abington Township v. Schempp*,[12] focused on religious freedom. Students had been required to read at least 10 verses from the Bible, and school authorities required students to recite the Lord's Prayer. The question for the Court centered on the violation of religious freedom as protected by the First and Fourteenth Amendments.[13] The court ruled the required activities violated First Amendment clauses protecting the free exercise of religion and prohibiting government establishment of religion. Further, the ability of a parent to excuse a child from these ceremonies by written note was irrelevant since it did not prevent the school's actions from violating the establishment clause. No case law has tested the use of tribal religious activities in federal or tribal schools.

In *Lau v. Nichols*,[14] non-English-speaking Chinese students in San Francisco brought a class-action suit seeking relief against unequal educational opportunities. California state law provided that English should be the basic language of all schools, yet many native Chinese students were unable to understand English. The Supreme Court, relying solely on Section 601 of the *Civil Rights Act* of 1964,[15] found that such discrimination did exist in programs receiving federal financial assistance. The Court indicated that a student "brings to the starting line of his educational career different advantages and disadvantages caused in part by social, economic, and cultural background, created and continued completely apart from any contribution to the school system." By requiring English (e.g., state-imposed standards), "there is no equality of treatment merely by providing students with the same facilities, textbooks, teachers, and curriculum; for students who do not understand English are effectively foreclosed from any meaningful education."

The implications of these two cases for American Indian students compel school officials to consider entanglement questions (church and state) and second-language instruction for speakers of Native languages. Given the history of assimilation policies and practices in federal and public schools, particularly in view of the 1990 *Native American Languages Act*, and tribal officials are sensitive to the need to incorporate "Native ways of knowing" throughout the curriculum.

Free speech. Constitutional freedoms for students are fairly new to the Supreme Court. The landmark case on speech is *Tinker v. Des Moines Independent Community School District.*[16] In *Tinker*, the primary issue was protected speech. Students in Des Moines, Iowa, had worn black arm bands to protest the Vietnam War. In the decision, the Court reasoned that wearing an arm band as a political protest is a symbolic act of speech and constitutes a form of "pure speech." The speech or expression was "pure" because it was not accompanied by disruptive conduct. In fact, testimony indicated most other students were apathetic. The court made clear that symbolic speech would not be protected in a case where discipline could not be maintained, distracting from the educational processes. Memorable language from this decision includes the following: "It can hardly be argued that either students or teachers shed their constitutional rights to freedom of speech or expression at the schoolhouse gate."

For schools with American Indian populations, the most relevant language in the *Tinker* case concerns "undifferentiated fear or apprehension of disturbance" and the probability that school administrators will make decisions based on the potential discipline problems. In his decision, Justice Abe Fortas referred to a 1996 circuit court decision: "As Judge Gewin, speaking for the Fifth Circuit, said, school officials cannot suppress 'expressions of feelings with which they do not wish to contend.'"

The wearing of insignia or slogans now is usually covered by school dress codes. For school administrators and board members, the prohibition of pins (e.g., "Free Leonard Peltier" buttons) requires comparable attention. Does the wearing of an insignia constitute a disturbance to the educational program? If so, what is the likely extent of such disturbance? The Supreme Court has not reviewed cases involving student dress or appearance.

Tort law. Tort claims require establishing negligence of (1) duty of care, (2) breach of that duty through a negligent act or omission, (3) an injury, and (4) a proximate cause between the breach of the duty and injury. Each qualifier must be present. Negligence is the failure to use the degree of care a person of ordinary prudence and reason would exercise under the same or similar circumstances. Reasonable care, in the context of professional negligence, requires exercising the degree of skill and care ordinarily employed by members of the same profession under similar conditions and in like surrounding circumstances. Thus, an elementary teacher is expected to have knowledge and skills in early childhood development. A college professor, however, is not likely to need knowledge about the development of preschool children in order to perform his or her professional duties; he or she would be judged by standards applicable to a professional teacher of adults. The courts also use as a qualifier the expertise a professional portrays to a community. For example, if a college teacher professed to have specific qualifications in preschool education, the courts would consider those qualifications. As a result, the question of whether the duty has been breached turns on the professional's departure from the standard of care rather than on the event.

Cases alleging tort responsibility have increased in recent years. One of the immediate defenses by school officials in a tort case is the common law doctrine of *in loco parentis. In loco parentis* translates literally as *in place of the parents.* A school official would argue that any decision regarding a student is based on the premise that school officials often act in place of parents. More recently, courts have been asked to address liability issues of schools and school employees for failing to prevent a suicide or failing to provide notice to parents of a student's suicidal tendencies. Recent circuit court cases involving this doctrine concern litigation by parents of a student who has committed suicide. In one instance, the court stated "there is a duty which arises between a teacher or a school district and a student. This duty has previously been recognized by this Court as simply a duty to exercise reasonable care in supervising students while they attend school."[19] In another case, the mother of a 13-year-old student who had committed suicide brought a 1983 civil rights suit and wrongful death action based on the failure of school administrators to prevent the student's suicide.[20] The jury awarded the mother $165,000 in damages. These two cases are regional, yet they provide educators with an understanding of recent decision-making trends.

In the 1975 Supreme Court case *Wood v. Strickland,*[21] school officials used a defense based on common-law tradition and public policy: "School officials are entitled to a qualified good-faith immunity from such liability for damages." In this case, the students had been expelled from school for violating a school regulation prohibiting the use or possession of intoxicating beverages at school or school activities. The students claimed their suspensions violated the due process requirements of the Constitution. The Court's opinion discusses the balance of *qualified* and *absolute* immunity for school officials in detail. The significant discussion of the interference with school administration ends with this comment: "The system of public education that has evolved in this Nation relies necessarily upon the discretion and judgement of school administrators and school board members." Historically, the Supreme Court has been reluctant to intervene in the administration of schools, resulting in a small number of education cases adjudicated in the high court.

Implications for schools serving American Indian students are clear. Negligence will not be tolerated, nor is it defensible. Prior eras, wherein immunity was the first line of defense, are obsolete. The courts will protect school officials acting in a "reasonable" manner. The doctrine of *in loco parentis* appears to be most useful in a boarding school; however, its weight in a Supreme Court case is yet to be determined. In considering liability, courts also consider the age and maturity of the child and the foreseeability of the incident.

Equity. Equity issues typically pertain to people complaining they have been denied a benefit or suffered a burden unfairly. The legal foundation is the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution. The Supreme Court has placed the burden of proving differential treatment on the plaintiffs. Plaintiffs must establish that government policies (in this instance, school policies) were driven by discrimination. Once the plaintiffs establish differential treatment, it must next be determined (1) whether the plaintiff or government must bear the burden of proving the adequacy of the justification for differential treatment and (2) whether the differential treatment is in fact justified. A law or policy is presumed unconstitutional unless the government can show that differential treatment is necessary to achieve some compelling state interest. The test for equal protection cases is strict scrutiny.[illegible]

Without question, the landmark case involving equity is *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*[illegible] and its subsequent rehearings. *Brown* overturned the Supreme Court's *Plessy v. Ferguson*[illegible] decision by ruling that "in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." *Brown* relied heavily on the First, Fifth, and Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution. This decision has profoundly affected public education and other areas of public policy where the Supreme Court has attempted to adjudicate equal opportunity.[illegible]

Equal opportunity includes gender as well as racial issues. The most significant gender cases in education have involved access. The importance of education to our democratic society and the relationship of education to our most basic public responsibility were the grounds on which the Court concluded that the opportunity of an education, where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right that must be made available to all on equal terms.[illegible]

Special education. In 1988 Supreme Court Justice William Brennan delivered an opinion in *Honig v. Doe.*[26] The judgment directed California to provide services directly to a disabled child because a local agency had failed to do so. This case involved the "stay put" provision of the 1975 *Education of All Handicapped Children Act* (Public Law 94-142). The provision prohibited states or local school authorities from unilaterally excluding disabled children from the classroom due to dangerous or disruptive conduct related to their disabilities during a review of their placement. An earlier case involving the *Education of All Handicapped Children Act* was *Hendrick Hudson District Board of Education v. Rowley.*[27] *Rowley* determined that a state must have a policy that assures all handicapped children the right to a "free appropriate public education" to be eligible for federal funds. The parents had filed suit asking that an interpreter be provided for their child. The school had already provided hearing aids. After lower courts upheld the parents' argument, the Supreme Court ruled the court of appeals and district court had misconstrued the requirements imposed by Congress upon states receiving federal funds.

Two federal district court cases were central to the movement protecting the rights of disabled children: *Pennsylvania Association for Retarded Children (P.A.R.C.) v. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*[28] and *Mills v. Board of Education of District of Columbia.*[29] These cases were based on equal protection and due process theories. The *P.A.R.C.* case ended with an agreement that provided "access to a free public program." *Mills* provided similar rights to an even broader category. Cases involving handicapped or disabled students are among the most widely litigated cases in education law.

Finance. State school finance systems have been challenged in recent years. Early attempts to use the U.S. Constitution to resolve inequities in funding for public schools were largely unsuccessful. These early attempts focused on the equal protection clause of the Constitution: "No state shall deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." Lawsuits claiming that a particular state's school funding formula violated its own state constitutional provision have been more successful. These cases have been based on the strategy that education funding is not fiscally neutral. This strategy was successful in *Serrano v. Priest,*[30] wherein the California Supreme Court found that the state funding system violated the equal protection clauses of both the U.S. Constitution and the California State Constitution. The *Serrano* case was the impetus for moving this issue to the national agenda.

In *San Antonio Independent School District v. Rodriguez,*[31] the U.S. Supreme Court effectively precluded the use of the federal equal protection clause as a vehicle for school finance reform. In a five to four decision, the Court ruled that the Constitution does not prohibit the government from providing different services in different districts. The key to this ruling is that the Constitution protects the rights of individuals but not school districts. Since *Rodriguez,* school finance reform litigation can be found in nearly half of the state court systems. Systems of allocating state resources for education have been affected either by the threat or reality of school finance litigation.[32]

Compulsory attendance. In matters concerning school attendance, two Supreme Court cases are notable. The 1925 *Pierce v. Society of the Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary*[33] ruling had strong implications for separation of church and state. In this case, a private school in Oregon had sought relief from a 1922 state law requiring parents to send their children "to a public school for the period of time a public school shall be held during the current year" in the district where the child resided. The law pertained to all children between the ages of 8 and 16. Based on a precedent established in *Meyer v. Nebraska,*[34] the Supreme Court noted "the Act of 1922 unreasonably interferes with the liberty of parents and guardians to direct the upbringing and education of children under their control." The Court added that "rights guaranteed by the Constitution may not be abridged by legislation which has no reasonable relation to some purpose within the competency of the state." This compulsory education case had no major impact on American Indians because they were not considered citizens of the United States in 1925. In fact, based on voting rights, not all the states considered American Indians citizens until 1946.

Another landmark decision in compulsory education came in 1972. In *Wisconsin v. Yoder,*[35] the Supreme Court ruled that Amish children could not be compelled to attend school to the age of 16 as state law required. Testimony pointed to a basic tenet of Amish faith:

religion pervades all life, and salvation requires living in a church community apart from worldly influence. The Amish objected to public secondary schools because the schools emphasized intellectual and scientific accomplishments, competitiveness, worldly success, and social life. The conflict between worldly and nonworldly values, they argued, would psychologically harm their children. At issue was the violation of the right to free exercise of religion as a result of the compulsory school attendance law. The Supreme Court reasoned that "a way of life that is odd or even erratic but interferes with no rights or interests of others is not to be condemned because it is different." Much of the language in the *Yoder* case has implications for American Indians. By replacing the noun *Amish* with *American Indian*, the reasoning and subsequent judgment in favor of the Amish invites a number of moral and ethical questions regarding the schooling of American Indians.

As indicated throughout, the Supreme Court's docket rarely includes cases with substantial impact for education. For example, Supreme Court decisions deal with dress or appearance, yet there are state and federal district court decisions on these topics. This reflects the Court's continued efforts to leave the administration of schools to those officials charged with education and its general reluctance to get involved in any except the most fundamental constitutional questions. The Supreme Court's *Tinker* decision (which protected students' freedom of speech), as in others, included the following statement: "We express no opinion as to the form of relief which should be granted." This statement is consistent with the Court's pattern of hearing only the most significant education law cases. Typically, certiorari[illegible] (or Supreme Court review) of education law cases is a small portion of the Court's docket. There are currently no decisions from the Supreme Court specifically referencing the education of Indian children.

Legislation

Norman T. Oppelt divides the history of Indian education into two broad periods: the missionary period (1568-1870) and the federal period (1870-1968).[illegible] It is during this second period that the majority of the legislation involving Indian students was passed. Federal legislation impacts the education of American Indian students on several levels. The following pages summarize 19 federal laws that provide the legislative foundation of American Indian education:

- *Snyder Act* (1921)
- *Johnson O'Malley Act* (1934), as amended
- Impact Aid
- *Elementary and Secondary Education Act* (1965), as amended
- *Head Start Program Act* (1965), as amended
- *Indian Elementary and Secondary School Assistance Act* (1968)
- *Indian Education Act* (1972)
- Title IX of the *Education Amendments* (1972)
- *Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act* (1975), as amended
- *Education of All Handicapped Children Act* (1975) and *Individuals with Disabilities Education Acts*, as amended
- *Education Amendments* (1978)
- *Tribally Controlled Community College Assistance Act* (1978), as amended
- *Indian Child Welfare Act* (1978)
- *Augustus F. Hawkins-Robert T. Stafford Elementary and Secondary School Improvement Amendments* (1988)
- *Carl D. Perkins Vocational and Applied Technology Education Act* (1990)
- *Native American Languages Act* (1990)
- *Goals 2000: Educate America Act*
- Title IX of the *Improving America's Schools Act* (1994)

Snyder Act.[18] This act granted legislative authorization for the Indian Office. This office was established to provide social, health, and educational services to Indians, specifically those tribes for whom the United States had no specific treaty obligations. The language for the establishment of this office is as follows:

> The Bureau of Indian Affairs, under the supervision of the Secretary of the Interior, shall direct, supervise, and expend

> such moneys as Congress may from time to time appropriate, for the benefit, care, and assistance of the Indians throughout the United States for general support and civilization, including education.

In the 1920s Commissioner of Indian Affairs Francis E. Leupp continued the federal policy of assimilation for American Indians. By encouraging enrollment of Indian students in public schools, this policy accomplished two things. First, the overwhelming number of non-Indian "peers" pressured these children to discard their own traditions. Second, it reduced the costs of Indian education for the BIA. To carry out this policy, Congress allocated up to $300,000 annually between 1923 and 1929.

Johnson O'Malley Act.[29] The *Johnson O'Malley Act* (JOM), passed in 1934 and reauthorized in 1991, authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to contract with a state or territory to provide to American Indians various services, including education. Thus, it is a funding mechanism for providing schooling to American Indians. The JOM has attempted to increase enrollment in public schools and reduce the efforts of BIA education. In states with large populations of American Indian students, JOM quickly became an added source of federal funds to school districts. Originally, JOM funds were not limited to Indian-specific needs, and many schools deposited the money into their general operating budgets. The actual authority for spending money remained with the fiscal agents at the local school; therefore, a consequence of the original legislation, whether intended or unintended, was minimal individual parent input. However, the current regulations require local Indian parent committee involvement.

Impact Aid.[30] Impact Aid laws passed in 1950 and reauthorized in 1978 and 1991 have been the center of considerable debate over the years. The passage of Impact Aid legislation in 1950 compensated schools for the education of children living on tax-free federal lands. Impact Aid monies are grounded in the government-to-government relationship of the United States and federally recognized tribes. This funding flows to public school districts impacted significantly by the absence of a tax base as the result of district boundaries including nontaxable (specifically trust) land. Indian parents have input into the application processes for Impact Aid and may individually or collectively use the formal complaint system in dealing with public school districts; however, in many areas, public schools have the ultimate decision-making authority over the usage of these funds. Amendments in 1978 attempted to add Indian-specific provisions to the monies, holding local schools more accountable to Indian tribes and parents of Indian children. A report by a special Senate subcommittee in 1969 documented misuse of JOM and Impact Aid monies. This report and others led to passage of the *Indian Education Act* of 1972.[11]

Elementary and Secondary Education Act.[12] To encourage parental input into curriculum used with Indian students, Congress added a rider to 1965 legislation designed primarily for public school education. The *Elementary and Secondary Education Act* targets public schools to make curricular reform applicable to Indian populations. Because education is a state function, public schools had no obligation to offer programs specifically for Indian children, even in densely populated school districts. This legislation sought to encourage more tribal and parental involvement. It began to fund "special supplementary programs for the education and culturally related needs of Indian students."

Head Start Program Act.[13] This act includes children on federally recognized Indian reservations. It provides formula-driven federal funding for health, education, nutrition, and other social services. Head Start programs are among the most successfully administered educational programs in Indian country.

Indian Elementary and Secondary School Assistance Act.[14] This act authorizes *tribes* to bid for special funding (discretionary aid) for education programs such as demonstration schools or pilot projects for the improvement of educational opportunities. The act seeks to involve Indian parents more meaningfully in the development of educational priorities for their children. The programs supported by this act are conditionally based on consultation with Indian parents and approved by Indian parent committees.

Indian Education Act.[15] This act was, in part, a result of the Senate Special Subcommittee on Indian Education's final report, *Indian Education: A National Tragedy—A National Challenge*, best known as the Kennedy Report.[46] The act has four major components. Part A provides formula funding for public schools with Indian children; including a 10 percent set-aside for Indian-controlled schools. Part B provides direct grants to Indian tribes, organizations, colleges, universities, state departments of education, and other nonprofit institutions. Grants are to be used for demonstration sites, planning and evaluation, and projects designed for American Indians and Alaska Natives. Part C provides monies for adult education, and Part D established the Office of Indian Education in the U.S. Office of Education, a deputy commissioner of Indian education, and the National Advisory Council on Indian Education.

Title IX of the *Education Amendments* (1972).[47] The first amendment to Title V (now known as Title IX) was a special appropriation to Part B for Indian professional development at the graduate level. Other changes included the addition of gifted and talented programs, Indian preference for employees, eligibility of BIA schools for formula grants (originally limited to public schools), and authorization for the BIA director to recommend policy on all programs for Indians funded by the U.S. Department of Education.

Two other federal statutes, Title IX of the *Education Amendments* of 1972 and Section 1983 of the *Civil Rights Act* of 1964,[48] provide all students with potentially powerful tools for protection and redress from sexual harassment and abuse by school employees. The most notable court ruling on the application of Title IX is the Supreme Court's 1992 decision in *Franklin v. Gwinnett County Public Schools*.[49] This is a landmark case because the court entitled a female high school student who had been subjected to sexual abuse by a teacher to receive monetary compensation for damages under Title IX. Under Section 1983, the violation of a student's rights evokes protection and substantive due process under the Fourteenth Amendment. To demonstrate liability the plaintiff must show that the school knew of a pattern of conduct on the part of the school official. This is often a difficult standard to meet. Instances of sexual harassment have been reported more in recent years, and some state courts have waived statutory time limits on filing claims involving minors. Administrators and school boards serving populations of American Indian students would, no doubt, experience the financial responsibility from such a civil action.

Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act. The *Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act* (reauthorized in 1991) authorizes tribes to contract with the federal government to administer schools for Indian children. Section 2(b)(3) emphasizes that parental and community control of the educational process is crucially important to Indian people. Part A, Education of Indians in Public Schools, addresses parental input in Section 5(a):

> Whenever a school district affected by a contract has a local school board not composed of a majority of Indians, that parents of the Indian children enrolled in the school/s affected shall elect a local committee from among their number. Such committee shall participate fully in the development, and shall have the authority to approve/disprove programs to be conducted under such contract/s.

The language of this act underscores Congress's intent to "promote maximum Indian participation in the government and education of Indian people." While the focus is not education, the act marks the beginning of an era when Congress began emphasizing and reestablishing tribal sovereignty. Tribal sovereignty is a prerequisite for the establishment of policies and programs that reflect the wishes of local communities (e.g., parents in the educational programs designed for their children).

Education of All Handicapped Children Act and the ***Individuals with Disabilities Education Act* (IDEA)**. These two acts address all students but have special significance for American Indians. IDEA assures parents of students with handicaps the right to participate in the assessment and program planning processes for their children. For the first time, all parents are partners with professionals in the decision-making process. Education researchers Eleanor Lynch and Robert Stein have found that language is a major inhibitor to this shared decision making. Many language-minority students are from homes where English, the language of Individual Education Programs (IEP), is not spoken. Problems with facilitating full participation by Indian parents in decision making about their children's educational programs have been compounded by the lack of Indian personnel in special education and the cultural bias of assessment tools. Appropriate student assessment and placement into programs are ongoing concerns of Indian educators. Despite recent changes, a disproportionate number of Indian students continue to be identified for special education classes. For years, support has been widespread for the notion that minority-language students are likely to be slow learners, due either to low mental ability or disadvantages imposed by their language handicap. This act is another example of legislation not originally targeted to the needs of Indian children that has nevertheless had significant impact.

Congress enacted IDEA, in part, in response to two well-publicized federal court cases: *Mills v. Board of Education of District of Columbia* and *Pennsylvania Association for Retarded Children v. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.* While these were regional cases, the decisions had broad implications for students in other areas. In both cases, the courts found that children with disabilities had been denied access to public schools because of their disabilities. IDEA defines the types of disabilities covered and limits coverage to educationally disabled children. IDEA is the funded mandate in a series of three laws Congress enacted to protect disabled students. Section 504 of the *Rehabilitation Act* of 1973 and the *Americans with Disabilities Act* (ADA) of 1990 are antidiscrimination laws that overlap to protect the rights of persons with disabilities. Each successive law was more encompassing. All individuals covered under IDEA are also covered by Section 504 and ADA. However, all individuals who qualify for Section 504 and ADA coverage may not qualify for special education under IDEA. IDEA differs from previous legislation because it requires parents of a disabled child to work with school officials to shape an educational experience specific to the child.

***Education Amendments* (1978).** Congress passed several Education Amendments in 1978. One of the riders was directed at schools operated by the BIA. In response to the increased awareness in Indian country of the needs of Indian students and the limited ability of the BIA to respond to local concerns, this rider authorizes parental involvement by redefining the role of the local school board. Local boards of BIA schools have more specific authority over general decision making at the schools, including a voice in the hiring of school officials, specifically administrative positions.

In practice, the authority relinquished to parental school boards is determined by the local school administrator and/or local school superintendent (education program administrator). For some schools, decision making is more participatory than others since fiscal accountability still resides with the administrators. While the intent of the rider was to provide local boards with a larger role in the control of local schools, it is not guaranteed. The amendment narrowed the focus of the BIA, establishing an official policy of facilitating "Indian control of Indian affairs in all matters relating to education."

Tribally Controlled Community College Assistance Act.[58] The *Tribally Controlled Community College Assistance Act* of 1978 authorizes Congress to provide funding for higher education institutions controlled by tribal governments. Currently, there are 24 tribal-government-controlled colleges and 7 other tribal colleges with other sorts of governing arrangements.

***Indian Child Welfare Act* (ICWA).**[59] This act was designed to protect the integrity of tribes and the heritage of Indian children by inhibiting the practice of removing these children from their families and tribes to be raised as non-Indians.[60] Under the act, state courts have no jurisdiction over adoption or custody of Indian children domiciling or residing within the reservation of their tribe, unless some federal law (such as Public Law 83-280, which gave several states criminal and civil court jurisdiction over Indians) confers such jurisdiction. The act has been held to preempt a state rule that would have shifted the domicile of an abandoned Indian child from that of the parent on the reservation to his would-be adoptive parents off the reservation.[61] As a result of ICWA, state courts have no jurisdiction over children who are wards of a tribal court, regardless of domicile or residence. Jurisdiction of these cases lies exclusively with the tribe. State courts have some jurisdiction over adoption and custody of Indian children not domiciling or residing on their tribe's reservation, but this jurisdiction is subject to important qualifications. For example, in any proceeding for foster care placement or termination of parental rights, the state court, "in the absence of good cause to the contrary" and in the absence of objection by either parent, must transfer the proceedings to tribal court upon the petition of either parent, the child's Indian custodian, or the tribe. The tribe may decline such a transfer.[62]

While not specifically addressing education, the law reinforces other legislation. Indian parental rights are, for the most part, subjugated to the wishes of the tribe in matters of welfare for a child, including education.[63] The primary consideration is the opportunity for the child to remain cognizant of the culture (and language) to protect the identity of the group and ultimately, the individual. The *Indian Child Welfare Act* came under attack in the 1998 Congress. The *Adoption Promotion and Stability Act*[64] contained language that would seriously weaken the ICWA. The Senate also introduced similar legislation. The passage of such legislation would reduce recent efforts to allow more control by tribes in decisions affecting tribal children.

Augustus F. Hawkins-Robert T. Stafford Elementary and Secondary School Improvement Amendments.[65] The *Augustus F. Hawkins-Robert T. Stafford Elementary and Secondary School Improvement Amendments* (1988) address the specific educational needs of Indian communities. It strengthens parental involvement in Indian schools by authorizing resources. Prior to these amendments, an Indian school board could contract through the tribe to operate a school; however, layers of fiscal management still diverted money from local school operations. This act authorizes the BIA to provide outright grants to tribally controlled schools. Local school boards have more autonomy to make curricular and operational decisions.

Carl D. Perkins Vocational and Applied Technology Education Act.[66] This act provides vocational education opportunities for Indians through competitive, discretionary project grants. Discretionary funding is often targeted by Congress when budget cuts are required.

Native American Languages Act.[67] On October 30, 1990, President Bush signed the *Native American Languages Act*, which Congress had passed to protect the "status of the cultures and languages of Native Americans [as] unique." It states the United States "has the responsibility to act together with Native Americans to ensure the survival of these unique cultures and languages."[68] Congress makes it a policy of the United States to "preserve, protect, and promote the rights and freedom of Native Americans to use, practice, and develop Native American Language."[69] Finally, the act emphasizes that "the right of Native Americans to express themselves through the use of Native American language shall not be restricted in any public proceeding, including publicly supported educational program(s)."[6]

The implications for Indian educators are obvious. From a general administrative perspective, the act advances the policy of Indian self-determination, particularly as it pertains to the tribal governing authority. Second, it is a stark reversal of the assimilation practices that discouraged teaching Native languages.

Goals 2000: Educate America Act.[7] This act provides funds for schools as they work to meet the National Education Goals. Set-aside funds are authorized for BIA and tribal schools. This legislation connects the U.S. Department of Education, specifically the Office of Educational Research and Improvement (OERI), to activities in Indian education. Tribal and federal schools have adopted goals that meet or exceed the National Education Goals.

Title IX of the *Improving America's Schools Act* (1994).[8] Title IX includes numerous Indian-specific programs, most significantly the Formal Grant Program to Local Educational Agencies in Part A. The formula grant program provides supplemental funds to local educational agencies to reform current school programs serving Indian children, thereby better meeting their special needs and ensuring they can meet state and national education standards. There are a number of special projects under Title IX as well. These include grant programs for the development of demonstration projects to improve achievement of Indian children; professional development of Indian educators; fellowships for Indian students; gifted and talented programs; adult education; and grants to tribes for education, administrative planning, and development. While these special projects are provided by legislation, they are not always included in congressional appropriations.

This summary of legislation is not all-inclusive of legislation that impacts American Indians, nor does it include all legislation that impacts education. It is, however, representative of key legislation and subsequent educational policy affecting American Indian elementary and secondary students. In the absence of Supreme Court decisions on the rights of American Indian students in schools, legislation forms a significant base for decision making.

Conclusions: Indian Education and the Law

Recent data on Indian students in this country show 398,484 American Indian and Alaska Native students attend school (K-12). About 87 percent attend public schools. Indian tribes and tribal organizations operate schools that serve about 16,500 students, and in 1997 the BIA-operated schools serving 27,000 Native students. Additionally, another 10,352 reportedly attend private schools.[73] Based on these statistics, the vast majority of American Indian students attend state-supported schools. As a result, case law impacting discipline, curriculum, free speech, tort law, equity, special education, finance, and compulsory attendance (as reviewed above) has the most direct effect on these students.

Case law rarely addresses education and even less frequently concerns Indian students at the local level. Legislation affecting Indian students often is incorporated in legislation written for all students, with amendments for American Indians. The section on legislation reviewed laws intended for all students that included provisions for Indian students. Further, this section reviewed legislation that targeted American Indian education programs. J. E. Silverman[74] asserts that tribal control over education has received more federal deference than the interests of other parents in this country, yet the actual practice of including parents (or tribes) in decision making is remarkably rare. Indian parents have only recently been provided opportunities to be involved in decisions affecting their children. Even today in boarding schools, parents typically acquiesce to the doctrine of *in loco parentis*.[75] Federal schools tend to route grievances through the federal system, and students (and parents) have been reluctant to use the federal court system.

In recent years, many states have passed legislation that allows for the formation of charter schools. Charter school designation has significant financial implications for Indian schools. Roughly a dozen states have legislation providing for charter schools, and there appears to be some backlash in states where Indian schools also have charter status. Suits addressing these issues are currently in federal and state lower courts.

Educators need to have a general understanding of education case law. The language of Supreme Court decisions is useful in evaluating the parameters of specific situations encountered during the course of a school day, because these cases are used as precedents for all subsequent court opinions. Students in schools governed by tribal contract or grant have the same rights and responsibilities as students in state-supported schools.

While there are no Indian education decisions from the Supreme Court, the education cases decided by the Court apply to all students regardless of the type of school board governance. Federal legislation, subsequent amendments, and all regulations and policies contribute to the current environment of Indian education law. The scope of both case law and legislation, while narrow, provides educators with a philosophical foundation for decision making. For tribal schools, the philosophy and goals often include Native culture and language.

The National Indian Education Association's recent Indian Education Impact Week[16] featured Representative Dale E. Kildee, a Michigan Democrat and cochair of the House Native American Caucus. Representative Kildee, a recognized advocate of Indian rights, cited a section of the U.S. Constitution referencing the sovereign status of Indian people. He noted that each congressman is required to take an oath to uphold the Constitution.

Tribal sovereignty is often under legislative attack. Advocacy for Indian children can be found in national organizations, like the National Indian Education Association, which seek to influence legislation but rarely use the federal court system. The Native American Rights Fund, a highly visible advocate for Indians in the court system, offers a series of monographs and training on education law designed for tribal education offices.[17]

Case law and legislation affecting American Indian students will continue to increase as more American Indian parents and educators become actively involved in policy and practice at the local level. Further, the advocacy of these parents and educators at the federal level continues to impact legislation.

Notes

1. Linda Sue Warner (Comanche) teaches Education Leadership and Policy Analysis at the University of Missouri-Columbia.

2. From this point, the term *American Indian* is inclusive of Eskimos, Aleuts, and other Alaska Natives.

3. Joe R. Talaugon to all California schools with American Indian mascot names and logos, Memorandum, 7 April 1998.

4. U.S. Constitution, amend. 10.

5. *Nevada v. United States*, 463 US 110, 127 (1983).

6. *Duhaime's Law Dictionary* (http://wwlia.org/diction.htm) defines res judicata "as a matter that has already been conclusively decided by a court."

7. *Arizona v. California*, 460 US 605, 626-28 (1983).

8. *[Northwest Bands of] Shoshone Indians v. United States*, 324 US 335 (1945).

9. *Nations Farmers Union Insurance Company v. Crow Tribe*, 471 US 845 (1985).

10. *Ingraham v. Wright*, 430 US 651 (1977).

11. *Goss v. Lopez*, 419 US 565 (1975).

12. *School District of Abington Township v. Schempp*, 374 US 203 (1963).

13. The First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution states, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances."

Section 1 of the Fourteenth Amendment states, "All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

14. *Lau v. Nichols*, 414 US 563 (1974).

15. *Civil Rights Act* (1964), 42 *U.S.C.* 2000d (amended 1986).

16. *Tinker v. Des Moines Independent Community School District*, 393 US 503 (1969).

17. *Tinker*, at 511, quoting *Burnside v. Byars*, supra, at 749.

18. *Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary* (10th ed.) states, "A tort is a wrongful act other than a breach of contract for which relief may be obtained in the form of damages or an injunction."

19. *Brooks v. Logan*, 127 ID 484, 903 P2d 73 (ID 1995).

20. *Wyke v. Polk County School Board*, 129 F3d 560 (11th Cir 1997).

21. *Wood v. Strickland*, 420 US 308 (1975).

22. *Strict scrutiny* is used when the criterion of classification and differential treatment is race or ethnicity. The government must justify its policy by showing that this test is necessary to the accomplishment of a compelling state purpose. Except regarding certain affirmative action policies, the government (school) rarely meets this requirement. *Substantial relation* is the second level of this test. When it is admitted or demonstrated government has classified on the basis of gender, this test places the burden of justification on

the government. Gender-based classifications are upheld only if the government can demonstrate the classifications are substantially related to the achievement of an important government purpose. The third level of the test is *rational basis*. Classifications based on characteristics other than race, ethnicity, or gender require the rational basis test. This test places the burden on the plaintiff to show that differential treatment is wholly unrelated to any legitimate state goal.

23. *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, 347 US 483 (1954).

24. *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 US 537 (1896).

25. The equal protection clause does not prohibit policies that discriminate or segregate purely as an unintended by-product. All intentional discriminatory action is de jure and therefore unconstitutional, but unintended discrimination is de facto. De facto discrimination is not unconstitutional. For school officials, answering the following question would determine if they are in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment: Suppose the adverse effects of this policy fell on Whites instead of American Indians. Would the decision/policy be different? If the answer is yes, the policy/decision was made with discriminatory intent. This is the *reversing of groups* test.

26. *Honig, California Superintendent of Public Instruction v. Doe*, 484 US 305 (1988).

27. *Hendrick Hudson District Board of Education v. Rowley*, 458 US 176 (1982).

28. 334 F. Supp. 1257 (E.D. PA 1971), 343 F. Supp. 279 (E.D. PA 1972).

29. 348 F. Supp. 866 (D. DC 1972).

30. *Serrano v. Priest*, 487 P2d 1241 (1971).

31. *San Antonio Independent School District v. Rodriguez*, 411 US 1 (1973).

32. VanSlyke, Tan, and Orland, *School Finance Litigation*, 9.

33. *Pierce v. Society of the Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary*, 268 US 510 (1925).

34. *Meyer v. Nebraska*, 262 US 390 (1923).

35. *Wisconsin v. Yoder*, 406 US 205 (1972).

36. *Duhaime's Law Dictionary* (http://wwlia.org/diction.htm) defines a writ of certiorari as "a form of judicial review whereby a court is asked to consider a legal decision of an administrative tribunal, judicial office, or organization (e.g., government) and decide if the decision has been regular and complete or if there has been an error of law. For example, a certiorari may be used to wipe out a decision of an administrative tribunal made in violation of the rules of natural justice, such as a failure to give the person affected by the decision an opportunity to be heard."

37. See Oppelt, *Tribally Controlled Indian College*.

38. *Snyder Act* (1921), Public Law 67-85.

39. 48 Stat. 596, 25 *U.S.C.* 452-457.

40. *Federally Impacted Aid Areas Act* (1950), Public Law 81-874 and

Public Law 81-815, as amended. Funds provide assistance for operation and construction of schools.

41. *Education Amendments* (1972). Public Law 92-318, as amended.

42. *Elementary and Secondary Education Act* (1965). Public Law 89-10, as amended.

43. *Head Start Program Act* (1965), 42 *U.S.C.* 105.

44. *Indian Elementary and Secondary School Assistance Act* (1972). Title IV of Public Law 92-318.

45. *Indian Education Act.* Title IV of *Education Amendments* (1972). Public Law 92-318, as amended.

46. Senate Special Subcommittee. *Indian Education.*

47. 20 *U.S.C.A.* 901 090, as amended; 20 *U.S.C.A.* 1681-88.

48. *Civil Rights Act* (1964), 42 *U.S.C.A.* § 1983.

49. *Franklin v. Gwinnett County Public Schools*, 503 US 60 (1992).

50. *Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act.* Public Law 93-638, 1975; Title III, Public Law 100-472, 1988; Title IV, Public Law 103-413, 1994.

51. See H.R. Report No. 1600, 93rd Congress, 1st Sess 1 (1974).

52. *Education of All Handicapped Children Act* (1975). Public Law 94-142.

53 The original *Individuals with Disabilities Education Act* (Public Law 101-476) was reauthorized in 1997 as Public Law 105-17.

54. Lynch and Stein, "Parent Participation by Ethnicity," 105-11.

55. *Mills v. Board of Education of District of Columbia*, 348 F. Supp. 866 (D. DC 1972).

56. *Pennsylvania Association for Retarded Children v. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, 343 F. Supp. 279 (E.D. PA 1972).

57. Public Law 95-561, as amended.

58. Public Law 98-192, as amended.

59. *Indian Child Welfare Act* (1978), 25 *U.S.C.* 1903.

60. Compare with *Wakefield v. Little Light*, 276 MD 333, 347 A2d 288 (1975).

61. Matter of Adoption of Halloway, 732 P2d. 962 (Utah 1986).

62. 25 *U.S.C.A.* §1911(b). States are required to give tribal adoption and custody orders full faith and credit.

63. See Thompson, "Protecting Abused Children."

64. *Adoption Promotion and Stability Act*, H.R. 3268. Also see *Indian Child Welfare Act* Amendments (1977), H.R. 1082 and Senate Bill 569.

65. *Augustus F. Hawkins-Robert T. Stafford Elementary and Secondary School Improvement Amendments* (1988), Public Law 100-297, as amended.

66. Public Law 101-392.

67. Title I of Public Law 101-477, *Tribally Controlled Community College Reauthorization Act* (1990).

68. Ibid., 1153.

69. Ibid., 1155.

70. Ibid., 1155-56.

71. *Goals 2000: Educate America Act*, 20 *U.S.C.* 5843.

72. 20 *U.S.C.* 6301 et seq., Public Law 103-382.

73. See U.S. Department of the Interior, *Fingertip Facts*.

74. Silverman, "Miner's Canary," 1019-46.

75. Briscoe, "Legal Background," 24-31.

76. National Indian Education Association, *"NIEA Co-hosts,"* 17.

77. See the Native American Rights Fund Web site: http://www.narf.org/education/educationlaw.htm

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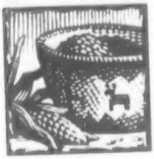
Part II

Curriculum Issues, Thoughts, and Practice

CHAPTER 4



Culturally Appropriate Curriculum
A Research-Based Rationale

TARAJEAN YAZZIE[1]

To clarify our purposes and strengthen our approaches to schooling Native youth, education researchers and practitioners have long advocated adopting a culturally appropriate curriculum. Such an approach uses materials that link traditional or cultural knowledge originating in Native home life and community to the curriculum of the school.[2] Deeply embedded cultural values drive curriculum development and implementation and help determine which subject matter and skills will receive the most classroom attention. This chapter examines theoretical and practical research studies that support and inform the development of culturally appropriate curricula for American Indian children in K-12 classrooms.

Education and Culture

Donald Oliver and Kathleen Gershman observe, "Knowing is said to be the result of learning which comes about as a type of transfer of information from the outside world of nature to the individual self." They suggest that, in Western European thought, this learning and teaching relationship is a "knower-known" dualism. Oliver and

Gershman consider this view of education problematic because it implies a separation between what is known and the person who holds the knowledge about it. This implied separation negates the nature and "most basic understanding of our being."[3] According to Oliver and Gershman, every individual's culture functions as a perceptual lens, shaping a unique worldview. Culture cannot be separated from everyday experiences through processes; it influences social, political, and intellectual activities.[4]

Jerome Bruner adds that "education is a major embodiment of a culture's way of life, not just preparation for it." In other words, if Indigenous agriculture, jazz music, Broadway theater productions, tribal courts, and medical research are all embodiments of culture, so is schooling. He captures beautifully what is hidden in the struggle to rationalize a culturally relevant curriculum as he links learning and thinking to how cultural knowledge is lived out. According to Bruner, "[It] is culture that provides the tools for organizing and understanding our worlds in communicable ways."[5]

While these scholars have linked culture and education theoretically, Oscar A. Kawagley has written about the deep influence and connectedness of cultural knowledge with the kind of learning in which Yupiaq people (southwestern Alaska) traditionally engage. Culture and knowing are inextricably connected in all aspects of daily life. Thus education is embedded in who Yupiaq people are and how they behave and communicate. Ultimately these relationships have a bearing on the survival of the people.[6]

What Is a Curriculum?

There are many approaches to defining a curriculum, but Wilma Longstreet and Harold Shane suggest that a curriculum can encompass a variety of activities: selecting who should be educated; setting desirable goals for education; choosing appropriate content; and deciding how content should be gathered, organized, developed, taught, and evaluated. But, who are the people engaged in these tasks? The answer for many schools is a team of teachers working with an outside consultant, often isolated from the rest of the school. Afterwards, however, teachers are expected to implement the curriculum.[7]

The picture becomes more complicated as we search for a clearer understanding of what the creators of a curriculum understand it to be. Part of the task is to acknowledge the interrelationships among learning, teaching, and curriculum. Another part is developing better methods for transmitting that knowledge in preservice or inservice teacher education.

An investigation of theories guiding development of a culturally appropriate curriculum will help us understand more about the multiple links connecting curricula with learning and teaching. By examining these theories, we begin to uncover the underlying philosophies and ideologies embedded in the educational goals set by curriculum planners for Native communities.

This chapter is organized into five sections: historical roots, theoretical frameworks, curriculum development, curriculum practice and implementation, and implications for educational research and practice.

Historical Roots

Through the first half of this century, the ideology of assimilation guided curriculum development for American Indian education. American Indian students endured a series of forced introductions to a new "civilized" culture." For decades, they tried to make sense of what they learned in history, math, and reading lessons (including the values and morals embedded in text) while living in a separate society. Carol Locust describes the costs of this policy:

> Discrimination against persons because of their beliefs is the most insidious kind of injustice. Ridicule of one's spiritual beliefs or cultural teachings wounds the spirit, leaving anger and hurt that may be masked by a proud silence. American Indians experience this discrimination in abundance for the sake of their traditional beliefs, especially when such beliefs conflict with those of the dominant culture's educational systems.[9]

Efforts to provide an education that is more respectful of American Indian culture have run hot and cold in the United States. The first discussion that legitimized cultural considerations in Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) school curricula began with the release of the

Meriam Report in 1928. The very first paragraph of the report's section on education included this statement:

> The most fundamental need in Indian education is a change in point of view. Whatever may have been the official governmental attitude, education for the Indian in the past had proceeded largely on the theory that it is necessary to remove the Indian child as far as possible from his home environment; whereas the modern point of view in education and social work lays stress on upbringing in the natural setting of home and family life. The Indian educational enterprise is peculiarly in need of the kind of approach that recognizes this principle; that is, less concerned with a conventional school system and more with the understanding of human beings.[10]

In this report, the researchers discussed how the U.S. government had appropriated education policy and practice to transform American Indian people and societies. This historical document represents the first official recognition of the essential roles Native families and cultures play in the learning process. The more than 70 years that have passed since the Meriam Report have brought increased understanding about cultural considerations in curriculum, although not without occasional setbacks. As we approach a new century, educators of Native students continue to work toward improving educational delivery and practice. Our histories help us to see the distance we have come, while we look to current education research for help in making informed decisions about the future of education.

Given this reality, what does research tell us about curricula? What theories underpin cultural considerations in the education of American Indian learners today? For more recent views on how to make a curriculum more effective, I will review theories and research studies that show various ways culture affects student academic performance. Specifically, I will review the works of Frederick Erickson, Susan Philips, and Henry T. Trueba. These studies disclose some of the ways to view the connections among culture, curricula, and instructional practice in American Indian education.[11]

Theoretical Frameworks

Modes of linguistic interactions. Erickson argues there is a difference between how majority and minority students interact linguistically and cognitively. His position is not that one type of linguistic interaction is superior over another, rather students may reach similar understandings via different cognitive and linguistic modes of investigation. He suggests learning is complicated by different modes of interaction, which, if negative, can lead to distrust. Trust—a major component in behavioral interactions—can grow when teachers understand linguistic aspects of their students' cultural backgrounds. Erickson thinks it is important for teachers to find ways to obtain and build trust instead of emphasizing cultural differences. He suggests that a culturally responsive curriculum (including pedagogy) can transform routine educational practice. This view is supported by several studies conducted in Native communities and education settings by other researchers. This growing body of research suggests that better learning occurs when teachers transform their educational practices and the curriculum reflects the home culture from which children come.[17]

Supportive learning environments. Researchers Trueba and Philips also stress the importance of culture as a contributing factor to student performance and positive engagement in the classroom. Culturally appropriate relationships ground children in supportive environments, which help them contend with non-Native cultural values embedded in the school curriculum. Trueba advises educators not to lose sight of the fact that *many* minorities succeed in school *without* losing their cultural identities or assimilating; therefore, teachers should seriously question theories that encourage assimilation or even partial acculturation. Trueba stresses that

> Conditions for effective learning are created when the role of culture is recognized and used in the activity settings during the actual learning process. Ultimately, cultural congruence is not only part of the appropriate conditions . . . for learning effectively. At the heart of academic success, and regardless of the child's ethnicity or historical background, an effective learning environment must be constructed in which the child, especially the minority child, is assisted through meaningful and

> culturally appropriate relationships in the internalization of the mainstream cultural values embedded in our school system.[13]

Trueba recognizes that many mainstream values are embedded in the school system, some of which are valued by Native educators, parents, and communities. Educators want Native children to succeed academically. To accomplish this, Trueba argues children need to be more aware of the values embedded in the acts of learning and teaching in American schooling. Trueba is speaking of a bicultural approach that provides a setting that clearly fosters mainstream values yet offers equal recognition of the contributions home cultures bring to the learning situation. Trueba's work informs how others might acknowledge the structure of schools. He does not suggest an assimilation of values; on the contrary, he says the home culture is needed in the classroom to facilitate academic achievement. Minority children need to be able to internalize both their own culture and that of the school.

Communication and interaction styles. Philips's research in the Warm Springs Indian Community focused on culture and its relationship to classroom communication and interaction styles. She compared the interaction of Warm Springs children with Anglo middle-class modes of interaction. The children were reluctant to interact with their teachers and engage with academic content. She views this reluctance as a hindrance in the learning process. Without critical engagement with the curriculum and between teacher and learner, acquisition of knowledge is interrupted and learning is stunted. Philips's research in 1972 and 1983 found that Warm Springs students had been enculturated in their community, which influenced their communication style in the classroom.[14]

Other researchers have emphasized important differences between students and teachers in nonverbal behavior. These studies show that communication differences may bias teachers' interpretations of their students' classroom communication and behavior and lower teachers' expectations of student academic performance.[15]

The educational research literature includes numerous anecdotal reports, position essays, discussions, and debates about how the culture of the dominant society may be incongruent with, conflict with, or impede the schooling of American Indian students. The reader might ask, Why are these instructional theories important, particularly to the American Indian educational experience? David Wright, Michael Hirlinger, and Robert England explain that schooling experiences for American Indian children are qualitatively different from those of White middle-class learners for whom the American educational system has been constructed. These researchers and a significant number of others have established the link between culture and learning in school settings.[16]

Curriculum Development

Research reports also suggest that a good curriculum created for Indian students should incorporate cultural considerations. Robin A. Butterfield argues that, to reflect the cultures of Indian students and their communities, educators must take into consideration three instructional elements: materials, instructional techniques, and learner characteristics. Other researchers have pointed out the importance of meaningful parental and community involvement. This section highlights some of the research documenting various curriculum development approaches among tribes across the United States.[17]

John M. McQuiston and Rodney L. Brod report that the "Native American student is typically taught by an Anglo teacher through the use of non-Indian language, examples, illustrations, and text materials." Such alien learning situations are common for American Indian students. John Ogbu explains that it is common for "involuntary" minority students to experience conflicts with the American education system. "Voluntary" minorities perceive "the cultural differences they encounter in school as markers of identity to be maintained, not as barriers to be overcome."[18]

Erickson, on the other hand, views minority learning situations through a different lens. He believes people's mannerisms when they speak are also important to consider when trying to understand the cultural conflict minority students experience:

> If the teacher comes from a speech network in which it is expected that listeners will show attention by direct eye contact while listening, and a child comes from a speech network in which it is considered impolite to look directly at a speaker, the

> teacher may infer that the child who is listening with averted eyes may be bored, confused, or angry.[19]

Erickson pinpoints what research suggests is the source of cultural conflict in American Indian education. There exists a salient difference in how American Indian students, parents, and communities conduct social and learning interactions in home and in school. These different modes of interacting are not usually described in information available to teachers and school personnel who interact academically with Native students. Informed by such research knowledge, teachers might stand a better chance of creating ways to engage students in learning content material. Better informed teachers and curriculum developers might also find better assessment activities and measures to monitor student learning of content material. Native parents and communities could be very helpful if included in the curriculum and assessment development process.[20]

Bruce A. Birchard studied the perspectives of community members, parents, students, and teachers with regard to Native language, history, and values taught in school. Many of the participants in the study felt some aspects of the tribal heritage and culture should be taught in school; however, most agreed the purpose of a full education is to prepare Indian youth for employment and successful lives in American society. From Birchard's study, we learn that a curriculum for Native children needs to address the expectations of both the Native community and larger society. For example, it is helpful for students to learn in situations where they are not isolated from the larger society, i.e., the curriculum must meet state requirements. Meeting these requirements does not necessarily exclude creative or culturally appropriate curriculum and instruction.[21]

James E. Biglin and Jack Wilson, in their study of Navajo and Hopi parental attitudes toward Indian education, found the same attitudes reported in the Birchard study. Parents in this study emphasized "inclusion of the Navajo/Hopi language [as] most important in the curriculum." Similarly, C. L. Steele conducted a study with parents to identify and organize teachable Mohawk cultural content.[22]

A 1991 study to develop an inquiry-based curriculum found that Navajo parents agreed their children "need the skills and knowledge for full adult participation in the off-reservation economy." Although the parents disagreed about the best means to achieve this, they were in agreement, regardless of approach, that the school curriculum should reflect Navajo values. Most teachers held the belief that Navajo children "won't respond to questioning!" However, one teacher encouraged the students to participate actively by asking questions that incorporated social knowledge from their backgrounds. The researchers attributed this increase in verbal participation to the familiarity and relevance of the content to students' lives. Navajo students clearly felt comfortable with a classroom dialogue that captured and honored their multiple cultural experiences.[23]

Not only do these studies demonstrate the importance of culture and language in schools serving American Indian students, they indicate that American Indian parental input can assist schools in refining curricula to become more culturally relevant and responsive to students. Relevance of curriculum content seems important to tribal groups, particularly since it is likely to impact academic success. Trueba explains why culturally relevant materials and interactions enhance learning for minority students in unfamiliar classroom situations:

> The transition from assisted to independent performance must be anticipated by the parent, teacher, or more knowledgeable peer, and the assisted performance prior to transition requires (1) effective communication between child and adult/peer, (2) shared cultural values and assumptions, and (3) common goals for activities. . . . Gradually the child understands an activity and meaning and consequences of the activity. Through culturally and linguistically appropriate interaction, the child then develops a suitable cognitive structure that is continuously revised with new experiences and feedback.[24]

Based on her work with Yavapai curriculum development, Teresa McCarty suggests culturally relevant curriculum development places importance on community input and delivery of cultural topics. Her work further supports the need for parental involvement in this process. McCarty's applied research goal with Yavapai and Navajo school programs was to revitalize culture by tapping into language learning.[25]

Other studies have shown the role Native language plays in concept development. Duane Schindler and David Davison believe "more attention needs to be paid to the structure [and] thought processes of the native language when that language is not English." It is the "cognitive structures of the native language with which [American Indian students] attempt to construct English language analyses," even in cases when particular students may not retain their Native language. For example, Schindler and Davison find that "school mathematics is typically presented using the English language and an English language method of processing." Schindler and Davison suggest that, to address problems in translation, the Crow language bilingual education programs could minimize problems through an "emphasis on teaching Crow speaking children the interrelationships of the mathematics terms and concepts in English and Crow."[26]

Judith Hakes and colleagues conducted a curriculum project to improve the education of Acoma and Laguna Pueblo children. The educational programs in place were not culture based, and an assessment at the beginning of the project found that educational experiences were inadequate. Students indicated the existing curriculum lacked cultural relevance. Factors that contributed to the new project's success were teacher training, cultural relevance, and community involvement. When piloted, the new culturally relevant curriculum reportedly fostered academic improvements.[27]

Educators may be unaware of the complex processes by which American Indian students adapt to school environments. While research indicates parental interest for inclusion of culture in the school curriculum, how and whether to teach tribal cultural knowledge in schools remains controversial. These are philosophical questions that educational communities, students, parents, teachers, and administrators will have to consider, particularly since a majority of the BIA schools have applied to become charter or community-based schools.[28]

Despite growing evidence and beliefs that a curriculum should reflect the culture it serves or, at least, the learning needs of students, Jerry Lipka warns about the difficulties of developing a culturally appropriate curriculum, especially when attempting to use the community as a resource. Lipka's six-year case study reveals that Bayuq (a fictitious name) community educational concerns are not always focused on the traditional aspects of culture, nor should they be. Lipka's work suggests curriculum development interests should not be limited to traditional Native culture but should include the local climate and politics in which Native youth live. For example, educators might ask how the economic climate of the time affects the lifestyles and livelihood of the people. A successful curriculum developed for the Bayuq reflects community issues related to the *Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act* (ANCSA). Lipka stresses that a culturally relevant curriculum emerging from school and community relations is "more complicated and subtle than simply adding curriculum that is culturally relevant."[29]

Sandra Stokes's work with the Menominee determined, "Although Menominee values would be an integral component of the new curriculum, there was a widespread agreement that the children on the Menominee reservation needed to become cognizant of the values other than their own as well as how the Menominee values fit into the concept of values in general."[30]

Lipka cautions curriculum developers to consider the following challenges:

- establishing trust in situations where tension between school and community is common;
- overcoming assumptions that the school or university knows what is best for the students and community it serves;
- dealing with controversies arising from development of culturally relevant materials, discussion, and knowledge that may be tied to traditional rituals;
- encouraging the community to use the school or university as a resource, not the other way around;
- involving students in timely community efforts such as debates on land rights or Native sovereignty issues, all of which can supplement and even enhance state-required course content.

Lipka's study further demonstrates how even gathering information about culture can conflict with Native life and social rules. For example, Lipka quotes a Yup'ik student researcher, "We talked about how the elders should be approached, knowing full well that it is sometimes difficult to conduct interviews since direct questioning of elders is often perceived as inappropriate behavior." Educators need this type of information when working in communities where similar principles of communication are fundamentally a part of interviewing community members about cultural knowledge.[11]

Despite a wide array of curricula related to American Indian cultures, most existing literature presents information about *how to learn about* Indians rather than *how to implement* a culturally appropriate curriculum. Researchers have established the need for culturally relevant curricular materials; however, they have done so while a majority of the materials have been widely distributed without appropriate cautions. For example, what may work well for Native Hawaiians may not work for Navajo. The findings of Lynn Vogt and colleagues remind educators serving Indian students of the vast differences among Native groups and cultures. These differences represent an important reason why teachers must take care not to generalize research findings to the Native communities in which they work.[12]

Research focusing on links between culture and curricula indicate that individual tribal cultures are apart from the culture of the larger American society, and distinct in their own right. If gaining in-depth and comprehensive knowledge is the goal of education, then learning about tribal cultures only as they relate to the history and priorities of White American culture underrepresents the parallel but separate knowledge systems of Indian peoples and the many unacknowledged contributions tribal cultures have made and continue to make to the whole society.

Clearly, developing a culturally appropriate curriculum is complex and difficult, and continues to be influenced by our inherited values and ideologies.

Curriculum Practice and Implementation

To serve Native students better, teachers of American Indian children must make a conscious effort to match materials and instructional strategies to the values and ideologies of their students. Stokes suggests that teachers who actively and critically engage in curriculum development may be particularly effective in carrying out appropriate instructional and assessment procedures. Instead of having a curriculum imposed on them, teachers can claim ownership by considering how educational reform can happen from inside the classroom.[13]

As John W. Tippeconnic III asserts, "Without question, the most important relationship within the American educational system develops between teacher and student." Researchers have described methods and programs that prepare teachers to teach Indian children and ways in which teachers demonstrate effectiveness in the classroom. Affective qualities, rather than skills or academic preparation, seem to characterize effective teachers in the research literature. Studies indicate that teachers who serve Native students effectively are informal, are caring and warm, give up authority, and have and show respect for the students.[14]

Qualities that make for effective instruction in Native schools are generally identified but marginally understood. The next step is to create consciousness and deeper understanding of the underlying philosophies of institutions where teachers learn about effective practice. Many teachers are trained in colleges and universities located at a distance from reservations and urban communities where Native culture exists. As students of culture, teachers engage in course work in the humanities, anthropology, religion, social sciences, math, science, and education, which taken together constitute a curriculum. This knowledge frames how teachers will view American Indian students' learning and lives. Because of this, the discussion on appropriate curriculum development should examine the ideologies teachers have internalized during their own schooling and will take with them to schools serving American Indian children. Doing this well requires a careful investigation of teacher education programs of study, teacher observation and reflection on their own practice as cultural workers, and a reassessment of teacher education curricula upon which future teachers will base their instructional approaches.[15]

Implications for Educational Research and Practice

Given the historical foundations of American Indian education and ultimately the purpose of schooling American Indian children, the importance of a culturally appropriate (or responsive) curriculum cannot be denied. Educational researchers have established strong evidence to support inclusion of Native knowledge and lifeways in the K-12 classroom (with the help of Native parents and communities) to create a quality educational experience for Native students.

We know that the curriculum guiding teacher practice makes a difference in the academic lives of students. Language, tradition, and histories of a people shape how and what we learn and who we are to become as intellectual, political, and social beings. Donald Oliver and Kathleen Gershman point to an unconscious connection between what is known and the holder of that knowledge, the knower. It is this relationship that becomes essential in the act of teaching. The known, the curriculum, should not be separated from the knower, the teacher.[56]

Research in schools serving Native communities has consistently demonstrated the importance of culture in the learning process. Equally important is a sense of ownership—a kind of belonging, a familiarity with what is being taught. For Native people, oral traditions are important, language is important, social relationships are important. As time takes Native society away from the immediate and detrimental effects of the boarding school era, there is still a need to keep a conscious watch over the progression of education as well as how educators view curricula, practice, and the students who are affected by them.

More research is needed on the effects of culturally appropriate curriculum on achievement, as measured by authentic or alternative measures. Rough Rock Demonstration and Kickapoo Nation schools have showcased how culture and language produce a positive relationship with higher academic performance.[57] More schools need to demonstrate this correlation. In addition to linking culturally appropriate curricula to assessment, further study is needed about how teachers *define* and *implement* a culturally appropriate curriculum.

American Indian students attend various types of schools: public, BIA-funded (boarding and day, grant, and contact), charter, private off-reservation, rural, and urban. American Indian students in these environments are bombarded with a multitude of potentially delimiting factors including, but not limited to, language, majority socialization practices, and values. It is difficult to say to what degree each factor impacts a student's ability to adapt to the curriculum and learning environment. Ogbu suggests some individuals come to accept a role in the larger society not defined by their own culture (this being the precise reason successful students are inclined to adapt). Donna Deyhle's and Dennis McInerney and Karen Swisher's research emphasizes that individual perceptions of and motivation to complete school extend beyond influences of cultural background. Theoretical and applied research focusing on curricula and Native education over the past 25 years reveals that culture influences teaching and learning. We can assume there is a direct relationship among culture, curriculum, and learning in American Indian schooling experiences. But to what degree? We do not know.[38]

Educational research appears to lack primary research that targets contemporary issues in American Indian education such as the educational experiences of urban Indian cultures.[39] Cultural considerations in American Indian education go far beyond culturally appropriate curricula; they reach into the hearts of Indian youth, who have to sift through what is taught to find themselves, their roles, and eventually the purpose of education.

Gaps in the research reveal questions and debates to be further considered: Should we use Native languages to teach concepts and values of the dominant American culture? Should we teach students how to learn in ways valued by American society for the sole purpose of improving academic gains as measured by standardized tests? Finally if we, as Native people, are truly going to determine for ourselves the goals of education, we need to continue engaging in careful consideration of how Native children become successful and active members of individual tribal societies as well as the larger society. There is an inherent view of how Native youth perceive themselves and their roles in two societies; educators cannot lose sight of it. Does this mean, as Ogbu suggests, that as involuntary minorities, American Indian students accept the American system and assimilate? Or can American Indian students succeed academically, as Trueba suggests, without losing their sense of identity and the culture in which it is deeply rooted? These questions need further thought and discussion in the schools, in the community, and within and among societies. Improved educational opportunities can be and are realized by Indian people conducting and building educational programs and curricula for their own people. John Chilcott writes, "The solution to accommodation must lie within the ethnic population itself rather than the school." Indian educators and researchers are addressing some of the concerns and questions that Native communities and people want answered.[40]

The link between curricula and culture is conceptualized differently by diverse populations. Each community, school, and tribe needs to establish its own definition and direction for how culture will play a role in the education of its youth. Our own communities can make a difference in the selection of research topics and the influence educational research will have on instruction, curricula, and educational programs. With community-directed purpose, research can presumably have a positive impact for Native students.

The extant research evidence demonstrates that American Indian students are not culturally disadvantaged or deficient but are subject to factors beyond their control that impact learning. A powerful factor affecting performance is the schools' lack of attention to meeting the needs of Native students. Because of the likelihood that Native societies will continue to change in response to technology and greater exposure to European American values and beliefs, educators are reminded that use of published works needs to be continuously investigated, challenged, and rethought. It is impossible that American Indian students are not affected by the instant and ever-ready exchange of information. We can assume that media and exposure to other cultures are strong influences on how curricula are developed and how Native children come to incorporate new information into what they already know.[41]

Evelyn Jacob and Cathie Jordan remind educators that although researchers have identified cultural discrepancies between the school performance of European American students and many ethnic minority students, dialogue has been limited about processes of engaging in appropriate reform.[42] There is already a wealth of knowledge with regard to cultural considerations for teaching, learning, and curriculum development. The question now is where do we go from here? What can research and current practice in schools tell us about the current situation in which American Indian students find themselves? This question can only be answered by carefully examining past research and practice that emphasize culture in curricula, and looking critically at how knowledge is defined by varying societies and education agents. A culturally appropriate curriculum is the building block to achieving a challenging, relevant, thought provoking, and most importantly responsive education for Native children in American schools.

Notes

1. Tarajean Yazzie (Navajo) is a doctoral student in the Harvard Graduate School of Education Learning and Teaching Program. She would like to thank Karen Gayton Swisher and John Tippeconnic III for their editorial support and patience. She would also like to thank the anonymous reviewers who provided careful reviews and thoughtful suggestions.

2. See "Constructing Failure and Maintaining Cultural Identity," 24-27; McInerney and Swisher, "Exploring Navajo Motivation," 28-51; McQuiston and Brod, "Structural and Cultural Conflict," 48-58; Philips, *The Invisible Culture*; and Spang, "Eight Problems in Indian Education," 1-4.

3. Oliver and Gershman, "Knowing as Participant," 69.

4. The term *culture*, in the education research reviewed for this chapter, is used loosely to encompass a wide array of behaviors associated with any particular group of individuals. Longstreet, in *Aspects of Ethnicity*, provides a thorough explanation of behaviors that demonstrate belonging to a particular group of people. She carefully discusses aspects of ethnicity as verbal communication, nonverbal communication, orientation modes, social value patterns, and intellectual modes. In this chapter, *culture* refers to any or all of these "aspects of ethnicity." When appropriate, specific behaviors will be highlighted. Native language, for example, is the focus of many cultural education programs.

5. Bruner, *The Culture of Education*, 3.

6. See Kawagley, *A Yupiaq Worldview*.

7. See Longstreet and Shane, *Curriculum for a New Millennium* (Needham Heights: Allyn & Bacon, 1993).

8. See Adams, "Fundamental Considerations, 1-28; Hamley, "Cultural Genocide in the Classroom"; Lomawaima, "Educating Native Americans"; Lomawaima, "The Unnatural History of American Indian Education"; and Soto, *Language, Culture and Power*.

9. Locust, "Wounding the Spirit," 315.

10. Institute for Government Research, *The Problem of Indian Administration*, 346.

11. See Erickson, "Transformation and School Success," 335-56; Philips, "Participant Structures and Communicative Competence"; Philips, *Invisible Culture*; and Henry T. Trueba, "Culturally Based Explanations of Minority Students' Academic Achievement," 270-87.

12. See Erickson, "Transformation and School Success"; Philips, "Participant Structures"; Philips, *Invisible Culture*; Greenbaum and Greenbaum, "Cultural Differences, Nonverbal Regulation, and Classroom Interaction," 16-33; Van Ness, "Social Control and Social Organization"; and Cleary and Peacock, *Collected Wisdom*.

13. Trueba, "Culturally Based Explanations," 282.

14. See Philips, "Participant Structures."

15. See Greenbaum, "Nonverbal Differences in Communication Style," 101-15; Greenbaum and Greenbaum, "Cultural Differences"; Mohatt and Erickson, "Cultural Differences in Teaching Styles"; Philips, "Participant Structures"; and Philips, *Invisible Culture.*

16. See Deyhle, "Constructing Failure"; Jacob and Jordan, "Moving to Dialogue," 259-61; McQuiston and Brod, "Structural and Cultural Conflict"; Danielle Sanders, "Cultural Conflicts," 81-89; Spang, "Eight Problems"; Swisher and Deyhle, "The Styles of Learning Are Different," 1-14; and Wright, Hirlinger, and England, *The Politics of Second Generation Discrimination in American Indian Education.*

17. Butterfield, "The Development and Use of Culturally Appropriate Curriculum," 50. See also Gipp and Fox, "Promoting Cultural Relevance," 58-64; Kawagley, *Yupiaq Worldview*; Skinner, "Teaching through Traditions"; Worrest, "Curriculum Development at Pretty Eagle School"; Youpa, Epaloose, and Tharp, "Family and Community Involvement"; and Stokes, "Curriculum for Native American Students," 576-84.

18. McQuiston and Brod, "Structural and Cultural Conflict," 29; Ogbu, "Variability in Minority School Performance," 330. Ogbu categorizes minorities in the United States into two groups, voluntary or involuntary. Voluntary minorities generally enter their minority status as immigrants, whereas involuntary minorities, such as African Americans and American Indians, enter their status under circumstances forced upon them.

19. Erickson, "Transformation and School Success," 337.

20. See Mohatt and Erickson, "Cultural Differences"; Plank, "What Silence Means," 3-19; Swisher and Deyhle, "Styles of Learning"; Philips, "Participant Structures"; Philips, *Invisible Culture;* and Vogt, Jordan, and Tharp, "Explaining School Failure, Producing School Success," 276-86.

21. See Birchard, *Attitudes Toward Indian Culture.*

22. Biglin and Wilson, "Parental Attitudes Toward Indian Education," 2. See also Steele, "Mohawk Cultural Perspectives."

23. McCarty and others, "Classroom Inquiry and Navajo Learning Styles," 42.

24. Trueba, "Culturally Based Explanations," 281.

25. See McCarty, "Language Use by Yavapai-Apache Students," 1-9.

26. Schindler and Davison, "Language, Culture, and the Mathematics Concepts of American Indian Learners," 32-33.

27. See Hakes and others, *Curriculum Improvement for Pueblo Indian Students.*

28. See Tippeconnic, "Editorial . . . On BIA Education," 1-5.

29. Lipka, "A Cautionary Tale of Curriculum Development," 216. Lipka's Bayuq community is a fictitious composite village in the Bristol Bay region of Alaska. For research on culturally appropriate curricula, see Gipp and Fox, "Promoting Cultural Relevance"; Worrest, "Curriculum Development"; Butterfield, "Development and Use"; and Tippeconnic, "Training Teachers of American Indian Students," 6-15.

30. Stokes, "Curriculum for Native American Students," 579.

31. Lipka, "Cautionary Tale," 224.

32. See Vogt, Jordan, and Tharp, "Explaining School Failure."

33. For information on curriculum development and implementation, see Cotton and Savard, *Native American Education*; Gipp and Fox, "Promoting Cultural Relevance"; J. S. Kleinfeld, "Intellectual Strengths in Culturally Different Groups," 341-59; More, "Native Indian Learning Styles," 15-28; Swisher and Deyhle, "Styles of Learning"; and Stokes, "Curriculum for Native American Students."

34. Tippeconnic, "Training Teachers," 6. For studies on effective teacher characteristics, see Deyhle, "Constructing Failure"; Kleinfeld, *Effective Teachers of Indian and Eskimo High School Students*; Kleinfeld, McDiarmid, Grubis, and Parrett, "Doing Research on Effective Cross-Cultural Teaching," 86-108; Philips, "Participant Structures"; Scollon and Scollon, *Narrative, Literacy, and Face in Interethnic Communication*; Van Ness, "Social Control"; and Lipka, "Cautionary Tale."

35. See Freire, *Teachers as Cultural Workers*.

36. See Oliver and Gershman, "Knowing as Participant."

37. Dupuis and Walker, "The Circle of Learning at Kickapoo," 27-33 and McCarty, "School as Community," 484-503.

38. See Ogbu, "Variability"; Deyhle, "Measuring Success and Failure in the Classroom," 67-85; and McInerney and Swisher, "Exploring Navajo Motivation."

39. See Deyhle and Swisher, "Research in American Indian Education."

40. Chilcott, "Yaqui World View and the School, 22. See also Ogbu, "Variability"; Robbins and Tippeconnic, *Research in American Indian Education*; Stokes, "Curriculum for Native American Students"; and Swisher, "Why Indian People Should Be the Ones to Write about Indian Education," 1-8.

41. See Greenbaum and Greenbaum, "Cultural Differences"; Locust, "Wounding the Spirit"; Philips, "Participant Structures"; Philips, *Invisible Culture*; Spang, "Eight Problems"; Deyhle, "Constructing Failure"; McInerney and Swisher, "Exploring Navajo Motivation"; and Wright, Hirlinger, and England, *Politics of Second Generation Discrimination*.

42. See Jacob and Jordan, "Moving to Dialogue."

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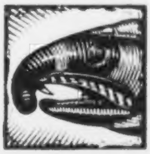
CHAPTER 5



Teaching through Traditions

Incorporating Languages and Culture into Curricula

LINDA SKINNER[1]

There are many challenges related to the perpetuation of American Indian languages and cultures, including the general lack of awareness within mainstream society about the presence of contemporary Indian peoples. Also, about two-thirds of the original Native languages have become extinct, along with the cultural knowledge they conveyed. Indian educators wishing to develop culturally relevant curriculum will find in this chapter descriptions of exemplary programs and successful strategies, suggestions for more effective practices, and recommendations for overall improvement of American Indian education.

Let me begin by sharing an account of my own deep immersion in these issues as both an insider and outsider.

One Teacher's Experience: A True Story

Our elders have maintained a tradition of transmitting knowledge, values, and history through oral tradition. We learn from the experiences of others. There is something beyond the story itself that takes hold of each listener's heart and remains in memory. As our elders have modeled their love for this method of learning and teaching, I want to give the following account of a lesson in language and culture that was for me both transforming and unforgettable. I have shared this story verbally with thousands of educators to impress the importance of developing understanding of Native languages, Native cultures, and Native children.

It was my first teaching job. I was fresh out of school, having studied at a major university in Oklahoma, preparing for what I wanted most to do in life: teach Indian children. It had been difficult to find any classes to help me do that, even in the state that had once been designated *Indian Territory* and still has more CDIB Indians (those having a Certificate of Degree of Indian Blood) than any other. The classes had very little content about culturally different children, let alone Indian children. But I had done my best. I took sociology classes, read a lot, and traveled extensively (from Greenland to Europe to Mexico). Formal teacher education study between 1966 and 1971 included one chapter on cultural diversity in one history of education textbook. That was not enough.

I was interviewed by a Zia Pueblo Day School community committee and a Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) official for a teaching position at Zia Pueblo Day School. One of their many questions was "How will you communicate with our children? They speak the Keresan language and you speak English. Of the 10 kindergarten children, most speak only Keresan." I thought a moment and answered: "I would like to learn your language, but I would also, in the beginning, communicate with the students in ways other than language." Little did I know how difficult it would be, even with the best of intentions. I quickly learned that the barriers of language and culture are big ones. Thankfully, I also learned that barriers can lead to the building of bridges. My interviewers informed me kindly that the people had important reasons for keeping the language to themselves.

I tried creative approaches during the first week of school. I depended almost completely on Mary, the Keres-speaking teacher aide, for communicating concepts. We played one game for the multiple purposes of getting comfortable with one another, having fun together, and learning both the Keresan and English names of animals. A student would imitate the sounds or movements of an animal and the others would guess. It was great fun. Things were going very well until Mary had to leave the room. We kept playing. The kids had already imitated many of the animals around the pueblo: dogs, horses, sheep, and pigs. It was Cindy's turn. She went, "Meeoww." Immediately Alfonso jumped up and said, "Moose!" I quickly thought back to my teacher education days. I had learned about the "teachable moment," and here it was! I would teach Alfonso what a moose was. I proceeded to do just that. I put my arms way up over my head and spread my fingers wide for the antlers. I bellowed loud noises and said, "Moooose!" Their big eyes and puzzled expressions told me something was awry.

During recess (which was announced soon after this incident), I told Mary what had happened, adding that their faces told me something was not right. The look in her eyes told me she had seen similar things all too often. Her head sort of dropped in her hands as, still smiling, she uttered, "Oh, Linda, in our language, *moose* means *cat*."

We gathered the children together, and with constant bilingual translations via Mary, we sat and talked about the need to communicate. I explained that we came from different places and spoke different languages. We said we would help one another. I told them about Oklahoma, my family, and the Choctaws. They showed me a prickly pear cactus fruit and talked about hot chilies and pottery. I felt better. Serious as the predicament was, we all laughed and were genuinely amused. We all learned that day. Our classroom circle conversation was the first of many meetings on the topic of cultural relevance and authenticity in the classroom.

While driving the more than 37 miles home that night, I thought about what had happened and what I should do. I figured this sort of thing happens over and over again for the Zia people, and they deserve better for their children. I was Indian and committed to doing my best. I had chosen to be there, and yet had not succeeded that day. What had happened and what was happening to the children whose teachers did not even care about their Indian heritage? I thought about resigning so a better teacher could take over but realized that probably would not happen. I resolved to stay, do the best job I could, and pay more attention. The kids were great. They had already said they would help me, and they did. Now I was ready!

I worked every evening that week and all weekend to develop meaningful educational experiences. I listened intently to the children. They loved horses, birds, butterflies, and fishing. Rhonda talked about "wild piggies." They knew a lot about many things like hunting, planting, seasons, dances, and pottery. They spent lots of time with their families and had close relationships with grandparents, aunties, and uncles. I developed my own instructional materials, even though the BIA had spent much money on commercially developed programs. Those prepared materials were a lot like "Dick and Jane," meant for middle-class European American kids. They were not very successful or even interesting to these curious, active Native minds.

The next Monday morning, I finally felt ready and much more secure. I set up a pretty little fishing pond with beautiful blue cardboard for water so the construction paper fish could "swim" in it. When you fished with the pole, the magnet on the end of the string would catch the fish. There were many colors because this was a bilingual color-learning game. I was proud; the kids would love it. Early that morning, Alfonso and Morris were the first students in the room. They ran over to see what was new in the corner. They kept pointing and talking to each other in Keres. I encouraged them to fish for colors, showing them how. They still seemed hesitant. They pointed to the cardboard (water) and said in a rather dissatisfied tone, "Not blue, brown." How many times had I crossed the bridge over the Rio Grande and seen the water—but not "seen" the water? It *was* brown, not blue.

This experience taught me that not only would the students be my best teachers but that the quality of their education would depend on community involvement. I began to learn, by experience and gentle Pueblo guidance, how to involve parents and community in meaningful ways, and how valuable and essential this involvement would prove to be. My young teachers lit the way for me to learn and understand.

A book called *Teacher* also helped me that year. The author, Sylvia Ashton-Warner, gave valuable insights from her experiences in recognizing and meeting the need for cultural relevance with her Maori students in New Zealand. I believe every educator and parent should read this book.

Over the past 27 years, I have shared experiences with many friends in education all over North America. This culture shock, resulting from the language-gap experience, is not unique. It happens over and over again to Native children and their teachers. We all know now, beyond a shadow of a doubt, that the federal government's assimilation and indoctrination policy has not worked. It is time to meld our collective learning experiences and rise to the great challenge of creating effective classrooms that reflect respect for our children and create a stronger and more just future for all children.

Let History Speak

Cultural and linguistic genocide (ethnocide) has been directed toward Native people for many years. Of all the oppressive government policies, perhaps the most devastating have involved education. Education of Native children came under government control through a series of treaties from 1778 to 1871, and it became obvious to policy makers that education was a powerful tool for subjugating and controlling the destinies of Native peoples. The general philosophy was to "civilize" Indians. They were taken from their parents and moved to boarding schools, where they were forced to forego traditional cultural practices and embrace European American culture. For instance, at the Carlisle Indian School from 1867 to 1904, English was mandatory, long hair forbidden, and traditional Native clothing unaccepted. Captain Richard Henry Pratt captured the prevailing attitude in his memoirs: "I believe in immersing the Indians in our civilization and holding them there until they are thoroughly soaked."[2]

Many of those boarding school students are still alive, and the effects of their degradation and miseducation are carried to their children and grandchildren. Some have called this negation of self "the boarding school mentality" and presume it is responsible for the high rates of alcoholism, suicide, alienation, insecurity, and general unhappiness present in some Indian communities today.

In addition to isolation from family and suppression of cultural practices, great efforts were undertaken to eliminate Native languages and teach English. Federal policies specifically forbade the use of any Indian language for instructional purposes: "Education should seek the disintegration of the tribes. Only English should be allowed to be spoken and only English speaking teachers should be employed in schools."[3] These language policies were to be enforced under threat of loss of government funding. Ironically, and in spite of government efforts to eradicate Native languages, there was evidence even then of effective educational practices that utilized Native languages to promote overall educational attainment.

In the 1840s the Choctaw and Cherokee had elaborate, successful schools, educating students in both Native languages and English. Not only was the Cherokee population 90 percent literate in its own language, but the English literacy level of Oklahoma Cherokees was higher than the non-Native populations in either Texas or Arkansas. There were more than 200 schools or academies, and numerous graduates went on to Eastern colleges. All of this was accomplished with complete tribal autonomy.

Then the federal government took over the schools, and Native education rapidly declined. By 1969 a U.S. Senate hearing on Indian education revealed that the median number of school years completed by the adult Cherokee was only 5.5, drop-out rates in public schools were as high as 75 percent, and the level of Cherokee education was well below the Oklahoma average and below the average for rural residents and non-Whites in the state.

In many government-controlled reservation schools, missionaries served as teachers. Though they also favored ending tribal traditions, as educators, they felt *students would ultimately learn English better if they were allowed to learn in their Native language the first three or four years.* Current research agrees with the missionaries: language-minority students who receive at least three to four years of formal schooling in their Native language generally achieve more in all subject areas, including the second language. Certainly the self-image is more intact.[3]

Addressing The Need to Reinvigorate Native Languages

Dating back at least to the 1870s, schools have made every effort to assimilate, acculturate, and indoctrinate Native students to speak the same, dress the same, wear their hair the same, and even to think and believe the same as European Americans.

The 1870 *Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners* summarizes the general attitude embodied in these educational practices, stating that education was seen as "the quickest way to civilize Indians and that education could only be given to children removed from the examples of their parents and the influence of the camps and kept in boarding schools."[5]

According to Bea Medicine, the historic prohibitions against Native language use have had great repercussions on the communication skills of American Indians and Alaska Natives since language is the core expressive element in culture, music, song, dance, art, and religion. She also points out that the persistence of Native languages, despite the extended period of repression, attests to the great vigor of Native people and their cultures. This persistence also indicates the value placed on Native languages by parents and grandparents, who have continued in many communities to teach them to their children. These communities understand that language is critical to maintaining cultural continuity and Native identity.[6]

Michael Brunn's recent study in ethnohistory documents that speaking a heritage language is essential to identifying with traditional culture and maintaining and carrying a culture forward. He reports that "children's identities are re-formed through the process of language socialization within sociocultural contexts. Their identities are ultimately constructed through interactions within her/his affective domain." He verifies through firsthand accounts (life stories) of tribal members that "language was the key element that would carry their cultures forward and maintain their traditions. To them the loss of language meant the loss of their cultures and it gave them much concern. . . . They came to firmly believe that their heritage languages were central to their identities as culture bearers and [were] an important part of what gave them their sense of belonging; of being. . . ."[7]

To ensure that schools in the United States are ready for Native children, it is necessary for educators to realize and value the relationship between language and culture. Eli Taylor, a First Nations Elder of the Sioux Valley Reserve in Manitoba, provides a strong rationale for the revitalization of Native languages:

> Our Native language embodies a value system about how we ought to live and relate to each other. . . . It gives a name to relations among kin, to roles and responsibilities among family members, to ties with the broader clan group. . . . There are no English words for these relationships because your social and family life is different from ours. Now if you destroy this lan-

> guage, you not only break down these relationships, but you also destroy other aspects of our Indian way of life and culture, especially those that describe man's connection with nature, the Great Spirit and the order of things. Without our language, we will cease to exist as a separate people.[8]

Federal policies in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries succeeded in assimilating many American Indians through the education of their children. When the first of these policies became law, there were 604 Indian languages, which were, for the most part, healthy and alive.[9] Today, only 206 Indian languages remain.[10] W. L. Leap reported in 1981 that the remaining languages survive with different levels of fluency, depending on the relationship between the number of speakers and age range. Of the surviving Native languages, it is estimated that approximately 50 are on the death list. If we value diversity, and if we value languages and their connection to cultures, we must act now. There is no more time to mull over the question.

James Bauman of the Center for Applied Linguistics in Washington, D.C., proposes that there are five distinct stages of language preservation: flourishing, enduring, declining, obsolescent, and extinct.

Flourishing language. An example of flourishing language is Navajo, with well over 100,000 speakers, more than any other American Indian language north of Mexico. It is also the largest tribe and has the largest reservation. Most Navajo children on the reservation learn only Navajo until they begin school. Louisiana Coushatta is also a flourishing language, with a population of only 1,000 people. The most important indicators of a flourishing language can be summarized as follows:

1. It has speakers of all ages, some of them monolingual.
2. Population increases also lead to an increase in the number of speakers.
3. It is used in all communicative situations.
4. The language adapts to the changing culture of the community.
5. Speakers become increasingly more literate in their Native language.[11]

Enduring language. An example of an enduring language is Hualapai. The Hualapai and related Havasupai have fewer than 2,000 people, of whom 95 percent, including most children, speak Hualapai. The language is not expanding. An enduring language is characterized in this way:

1. It has speakers of all ages; most or all are bilingual.
2. The population of speakers tends to remain constant over time.
3. English tends to be used exclusively in some situations.
4. The language adapts to the changing culture of the community.
5. There is little or no Native language literacy in the community.[12]

Declining language. Shoshoni is a declining language. The Shoshoni Nation has approximately 7,000 members, but their language is now spoken by no more than 75 percent of the Shoshoni people, with an ominous concentration of abilities in older people. These are the characteristics of a declining language:

1. There are proportionately more older speakers than younger.
2. Younger speakers are not altogether fluent in the language.
3. The number of speakers decreases over time, even though the population may be increasing.
4. The entire population is bilingual and English is preferred in many situations.
5. The language begins to conform to and resemble English.
6. The population is essentially illiterate in the language.[13]

Obsolescent language. Pit River exemplifies an obsolescent language. More than half the Native languages still spoken north of Mexico are obsolescent. Perhaps 50 tribes have fewer than 10 speakers, all of them elderly. The language can be heard only when the elders get together. The characteristics of an obsolescent language are these:

1. An age gradient of speakers terminates in the adult population.
2. The language is not taught to children in the home.
3. The number of speakers declines very rapidly

4. The entire population is bilingual, and English is preferred in essentially all situations.
5. The language is inflexible. It no longer adapts to new situations.
6. There is no literacy in the Native language.[14]

Extinct language. An example of an extinct language is Chumash. Approximately 32 years ago, the last speaker died, although the language had not been used for many years before.

Indian nations experiencing the various stages of language decline require different approaches to the preservation or restoration of linguistic (hence cultural) health. In the late 1980s, the first order of business for all groups, as perceived by Native American leaders and educators from across the nation, was to reverse the century-old federal policy of disintegrating tribes by exterminating their languages. These leaders approached sympathetic lawmakers, who eventually passed the *Native American Languages Act* (NALA) of 1990. This law explicitly establishes as policy the government's responsibility to assist Native American tribes to preserve, protect, and promote the rights of Native Americans to use, practice, and develop Native American languages.

While testifying in behalf of this act, Senator Daniel Inouye explained the impact of loss of language on a group:

> Traditional languages are an integral part of Native American cultures, heritages, and identities. History, religion, literature, and traditional values are all transmitted through language. When a language is lost, the ability to express concepts in a certain way is also lost. For example, names for objects or events in nature reflect the way people understand those phenomena. When they no longer know the name of something in their own language, they no longer have the same relationship with it, and part of their culture dies along with this communication loss.[15]

When President Bush signed this bill into Public Law 101-477, he not only changed the old policy but added further responsibility to empower states and local education agencies, tribal governments, and communities to determine their own linguistic destinies (see box).

Native American Languages Act
Public Law 101-477 §2903. Declaration of Policy.

It is the policy of the United States to

1) preserve, protect, and promote the rights and freedom of Native Americans to use, practice, and develop Native American languages;

2) allow exceptions to teacher certification requirements for Federal programs, and programs funded in whole or in part by the Federal Government, for instruction in Native American languages when such teacher certification requirements hinder the employment of qualified teachers who teach in Native American languages, and to encourage State and territorial governments to make similar exceptions;

3) encourage and support the use of Native American languages as a medium of instruction in order to encourage and support Native American language survival, educational opportunity,

A) increased student success and performance,

B) increased student awareness and knowledge of their culture and history, and

C) increased student and community pride;

4) encourage State and local education programs to work with Native American parents, educators, Indian tribes, and other Native American governing bodies in the implementation of programs to put this policy into effect;

5) recognize the right of Indian tribes and other Native American governing bodies to use the Native American languages as a medium of instruction in all schools funded by the Secretary of the Interior;

6) fully recognize the inherent right of Indian tribes and other Native American governing bodies, States, territories, and possessions of the United States to take action on, and give official status to, their Native American languages for the purpose of conducting their own business;

7) support the granting of comparable proficiency achieved through course work in a Native American language the same academic credit as comparable proficiency achieved through course work in a foreign language, with recognition of such Native American language proficiency by institutions of higher education as fulfilling foreign language entrance or degree requirements;

8) encourage all institutions of elementary, secondary and higher education, where appropriate, to include Native American languages in the curriculum in the same manner as foreign languages and to grant proficiency in Native American languages the same full academic credit as proficiency in foreign languages.

Passage of this bill was an important turning point in the federal government's treatment of First Americans. However, a change in policy cannot magically undo past wrongs and present-day effects. It also does not automatically change current practices that continue to miseducate Native children in public schools. Nor does it change misperceptions by non-Native students about Native people, their languages, and their cultures. Irene Silentman, who works in language planning, says

> To become more than a federal-level "gesture," NALA requires active support by tribes and Indian communities. With comprehensive support for many *tribal*-level education and language policies still lacking, it is unclear how national-level laws like the NALA will have an impact.

Dr. Dick Littlebear, in his work to preserve Native languages, writes

> The topic of language death has been "dialogued" to death. Those who are serious about preserving their languages must act now. They have to start tape-recording and video-taping their elders, to begin developing curriculum for language development and content area instruction, and begin comprehensive, college-credit training programs. Whatever action is taken, it must emanate from the Native American cultures whose language is to be preserved. . . . It is up to Native Americans to preserve their languages and cultures. To help reinforce what the schools are trying to do, Native Americans should just talk their languages everywhere, with everyone all the time.

Addressing Lack of Knowledge about American Indians

As we enter the twenty-first century, many barriers stand in the way of equity for Indian students. The failure of national policy and the prevalence of stereotypical attitudes about American Indians continue to undermine effective, equitable education. More than 20 years ago, the American Indian Policy Review Commission reached this conclusion:

> One of the greatest obstacles faced by the Indian today in his drive for self-determination and a place in this nation is the American public's ignorance of the historical relationship of the United States with Indian tribes and the lack of general awareness [of] the status of the American Indian in our society today.[18]

American Indians and Alaska Natives have a unique government-to-government relationship between individual sovereign Native nations and the U.S. government. There is no other minority or ethnic group with this status. Education is an entitlement granted through treaties for American Indians and Alaska Natives, not a handout. Understanding this unique relationship is the first step in grasping the complex nature of Native education today. Education, often thought of as a privilege, is actually a right, based on federal trust responsibility. Several laws, already on the books, mandate multilingual and multicultural Native education, but they have not been implemented.

One persistent problem Native leaders and educators must overcome is their *invisibility* to non-Natives in the larger society. John Tippeconnic III explains that because American Indians comprise less than one percent of the U.S. population,

> They are truly a minority among minorities. This fact has political, economic, and social consequences when money is allocated or programs developed; or when data is collected for minority groups. Often American Indians are forgotten because of their small numbers or grouped under "other" when data is collected and analyzed. At times it appears that American Indians are just low in priority when compared to other ethnic or special interest groups.[19]

American Indians and Alaska Natives are often considered vanishing races, museum relics. In the National Museum of Natural History, a division of the Smithsonian Institution, a teacher was asked by one of her schoolchildren, "Where are the Indians now?" She was overheard to have replied, "Oh, I don't think there are Indians anymore."[20]

Conditions of ethnocentrism and ignorance of Native cultures pervade American school systems, compounded by the lack of Native educators, which together create specific educational problems. Native values are traditionally handed down by elders. But these eminent persons, who hold the knowledge that can keep our cultures and languages intact, are missing from classrooms. While schools have ways to certify Spanish, French, and German teachers (*foreign* languages), they do not provide alternative certification for *Native* languages. These languages are national treasures, and the survival of our people depends upon their preservation.

This neglect of Native values robs Native students of their cultural pride and personal identities, impedes their success, and makes them feel inferior and insecure. Moreover, Native students tend to be confused by curricular content and design that are not culturally relevant, authentic, or tribal specific, and that harbor cultural bias and stereotypes. Not only do most textbooks and history classes teach Eurocentric versions of American history,[21] but there is a lack of effective action on a national level to change the way teachers are educated to respond to the culturally different child. Many classroom-based language development activities uncouple language and culture, depriving students of the opportunity to use language and culture in real communication.[22] Schools have failed also to create opportunities for American Indian and Alaska Native students to access leadership positions within student bodies and communities.

Natives themselves share some of the blame. Native governments and communities have failed to accept responsibility for determining the future of their people in all areas, including education, and continue to perceive themselves as victims.

In a recent report on Native American colleges, Paul Boyer states, "So while we describe the educational needs of Indians in this report, we believe Indian education should come to mean not just the education of Indians, but also education about Indians."[23] Marjane Ambler, editor of the *Tribal College Journal*, reports this problem eloquently and writes about the impact of America's ignorance on the lives of Indians:

> I have yet to meet anyone who was taught about treaties or tribal sovereignty in a high school civics class when they learned about federal, state, and local governments. When conflicts arise it is not a time for education. As states and tribes battle over taxation, water rights, or gaming compacts, citizens tend

> to be polarized, not informed by the debate. We therefore conclude our study with the hope that Native Americans will be given a stronger place in the curriculum of America's schools. The goal should be more than increased 'sensitivity' or awareness of 'diversity.'[24]

Boyer's report proposes that all students leave high school having learned three "pieces of essential knowledge": understanding the richness of Native American heritage, that Indians are contemporary people, and that Indians hold a unique place in the nation's body of law.[25]

Developing Curricula and Practices Relevant to Each Community

As described earlier, tribal languages and cultures represent great diversity, and Native languages exist in varying stages of linguistic vitality. This situation calls for flexible, locally appropriate approaches, which vary from community to community. Yet, we all want the best educational experiences for our most precious treasures, our children.

It is also more evident than ever before that our Native population has a brilliant pool of educators, parents, elders, tribal leaders, students, and families, who today eloquently express their hearts and minds. This is no accident. Through adversity, we have had to develop strength and endurance. Our recent history has been filled with conflict, suffering, losses, and factionalism. Yet, our hearts remain full of the ancient values of respect, generosity, and love for our children, elders, and all of life's circle. Our minds keep the remembrance of oral tradition, the histories of our ancestors, the images of our grandparents, and even the memories of their memories. We are spiritually connected to our past, our present, and our future.

Those of us who serve as educators have had the *opportunity* for many years to deal with education reform on the local grassroots level, as well as state and national levels. We have learned needs assessment, curriculum design and development, implementation, and evaluation, all within the context of community and tribal cultures. It is time to come full circle and put forth the best we have to give for our future, our children.

Traditionally education among Native people helped children find meaning in life. The curriculum was balanced, attending to cognitive learning (factual information necessary for survival) and relating it to affective and emotional learning through oral tradition and knowledge guided by tribal elders. Children developed physical strength and skills through games and daily activities. They developed social skills through group experiences, grounded in the philosophy that we are born into lives of service. We do not exist alone. Community is important. All these lessons are connected to spirituality, which is at the center of our existence.

Amidst our cultural and linguistic diversities, we share guiding values that could form the base of a tribal code of education or could become curricular content, learned through interdisciplinary activities. These shared values include

- generosity and cooperation
- independence and freedom
- respect for elders and wisdom
- connectedness and love
- courage and responsibility
- indirect communication and noninterference
- silence, reflection, and spirit

These values were once taught by communities; they can be again today. When communities produce education, values and beliefs are expressed, languages are spoken, songs are sung, and histories are heard. The people determine their priorities and develop a loving, collective ownership of the curriculum.

Every district must have a curriculum relevant to its community that also uses multicultural approaches and methods to value diversity and teach tolerance. Every district must be responsible for using the rich resources it has at hand. This does not mean holding one or two meetings where one Joe and one Jane show up and then conclude that parents do not care. Historically, schools have alienated American Indian parents. This negative cycle must be broken. The small number of local education agencies (LEAs) that have made good progress in establishing positive communication with parents must be nationally recognized. They should be awarded the opportunity to share their secrets of success with all, raising the standards and expectations of respectful relationships.

Textbook companies must realize their obligation to represent all people with truth in print. Textbook commissions can assist each state in solving the problem of institutionalized racism by refusing to buy books that denigrate any group or perpetuate any stereotypes, or that include cultural bias or insufficient information about particular groups.

The following recommendations would move our public schools toward equality and equity:

- Every local school board should have representation of each minority in its district, elected by that minority.
- The proportion of teachers from various racial/ethnic groups should match the proportions present in the student population served in each individual LEA.
- Every LEA must recognize the relationship of language to culture and establish programs that use the languages and emphasize their importance.
- Teachers must be trained and retrained to meet the education needs of all minority children. Where qualified teachers are in short supply, programs must be implemented to allow for special certification to meet student needs until teachers can be trained. Teachers who prove unable or unwilling, over time, to address the education needs of *all* students should be removed from school faculties.
- Districts that receive federal funding for Native students must be forced to include Native parents from local communities on committees that establish policies. The ratio of parents on these committees should reflect the number of children in the district as well as the amount of money the endorsement of those children generates. Native communities must be involved wherever local education agency (LEA) expenditures include federal monies.

- The federal government must take the initiative and enforce current legislation.

Without such changes, we can expect the continuation of the same unhealthy situations that have led many Native communities to crisis.

Successful Models of Culturally Relevant Curriculum

How can we define the path of learning we want to create for our students? An obvious way to begin is by examining positive aspects of the past and applying them to the future. For instance, the ancient wisdom that *all things are interrelated* can be exemplified in a contemporary interdisciplinary curriculum. Tribal elders can help by discussing traditional learning and how science, language, mathematics, the arts, social studies, music, and physical education can be taught together, using culture as the common denominator and motivational vehicle. The Wa He Lute Indian School at Frank's Landing, Washington, is an excellent example. Educators and community members developed a seasonal-environmental curriculum based on traditional values, oral traditions, and guidance from elders. Their curricular experiences were based on the Nisqually River, Mount Rainier, and the local flora and fauna (huckleberries, salmon berries, alder, cedar, and fish).[26] Project Preserve in Bemidji, Minnesota, has honored the past by compiling a book of memories and photographs of elders on the reservation, serves the present with a strong volunteer program, and prepares for the future by helping young people succeed in college classes. The book and volunteer program reflect crucial characteristics of Indian education such as Native culture and cultural skills, allowing for collaborative efforts and individual talent, using the teacher as a facilitator, deriving knowledge from experience rather than textbooks, making participation voluntary, and including multigenerational characteristics.

Most importantly community members need to take active roles. Discuss common stereotypes and cultural biases to which your children have been exposed, and examine textbooks for untruthful representations and biased accounts of historical events. Become advocates for your students by serving on textbook commissions and school boards and by working to recruit more Native teachers and administrators.

Other countries also provide effective models. New Zealand, for example, has designed culturally relevant practices that not only preserve, promote, and protect languages but also elevate respect for Native languages. There, schools work to reflect various cultural groups in classroom and extracurricular activities. Students are always encouraged to use their first languages. Welcome signs in and around schools and greetings in school newsletters are offered in various languages, reflecting the different cultures represented by the students. Books are available in a variety of languages, and tutors are familiar with students' first languages. Second language learners are invited to use their first language during assemblies and other official functions, and people from ethnic minority communities act as resource people, speaking to students in both formal and informal settings.

Tribal colleges have a role to play in developing successful models of language instruction and culturally relevant curricula. Carnegie reports from 1989 and 1997 recommended that tribal colleges continue to expand their important role in preserving the languages, history, arts, philosophy, science, and religious studies of their tribes: "The study and preservation of traditional culture is a vital part of every tribal college's mission. All teach tribal languages, and most offer classes in the history and traditions of their tribe."[27]

Exemplary programs. Exemplary Native education programs are as varied as the people they represent, and that is part of the key to their successes. Each program has grown out of expressed needs and thoughtful visions of their children's futures. In the United States today, there are exemplary programs for rural, urban, public, alternative, and tribally controlled schools. Some of these programs are briefly described in the following paragraphs.

The Hualapai Bilingual Academic Excellence Program in Peach Springs, Arizona, provides a firm foundation for the development of a curriculum based on the linguistic and cultural background of the community and its children. The program philosophy and learning theory base are congruent with community beliefs and values. The Hualapai Cultural Environmental Curriculum is a thematic approach. The theme formulates the content of the units and is based on topics with a special relevance to the local Native community. Science, mathematics, and language arts studies relate to the environment and life experiences of the Hualapai reservation. Discovery and experience are integral to the curriculum.[28]

At Isleta Pueblo, a computer program developed by a University of New Mexico professor, Ted Jojola (an Isleta Native), assists Head Start students in learning the language and folkways of their ancient tribe. Opinion differs on whether to continue this project. The children are learning but so too are non-Isletans. Some fear sharing tribal knowledge with the offspring of people who have tried during the last 500 years to destroy Native cultures in one way or another.

In 1990 Verna Graves, director of education, Red Lake Band of Chippewa Indians, stated the tribal government of the Red Lake Band was the only tribe in the Western Hemisphere that had prepared a comprehensive code for education.[29] The band developed seven education goals and four general education objectives. The tribal council declared the Chippewa language the official language of Red Lake. The education goals encompass a broad knowledge of Chippewa culture and are integrated into all phases of the curriculum.

Graves quoted the *Augustus F. Hawkins-Robert T. Stafford Elementary and Secondary School Improvement Amendments* (1988), which guarantee that the assistant secretary of the Department of Interior

> shall provide for comprehensive multicultural and multilingual education programs including the production and use of instructional materials, culturally appropriate methodologies and teaching and learning strategies that will reinforce, preserve and maintain Indian and Alaska Native languages, cultures and histories.[30]

Though these policies were written for federally recognized Indian nations, Graves anticipated that policies written by Indian people would be adopted by other school systems enrolling American Indian students. She eloquently stated a common theme when she testified:

> We believe it is necessary and inherently proper for each tribe to develop systems of education. For years we have danced t

> the tune of others as education plans were written for us; we will now go forward with our own plans to serve our own people governed and prescribed from within to serve the individual member and our tribe as a whole.[11]

The language policy of the Red Lake Band Education Code is an excellent example of tribal autonomy in education. The policy begins, "The Chippewa language is a gift from the Creator to our people and, therefore, shall be treated with respect."[12] The Code includes these 15 sections:

1. reciprocity of language use
2. protection of language use authority
3. general application
4. status of the Chippewa language
5. parent involvement
6. eminent persons/elders
7. Chippewa language as an integral part of all school curricula
8. orthography
9. teacher, administrator, and guidance counselor competencies for language instruction (preservice and in-service)
10. teachers and teacher aides (certification for language instruction)
11. establishment of the Red Lake Language and Culture Commission
12. composition of the Red Lake Language and Culture Commission
13. role and function of the Red Lake Language and Culture Commission
14. research and external studies that require tribal approval
15. funding for language policy implementation

The Indian Reading Series, published by the Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory, is an example of a curriculum created by Indian authors and authenticated by the participating tribes. It was field-tested in more than 93 classrooms. The student books show the cultural diversity of Indian America and are designed to improve reading comprehension, classroom participation, and written and oral language skills. The teacher manuals relate cultural background information, program objectives and rationale, and teaching activities to Native culture, utilizing the language experience approach to learning. The activities are designed to help students learn *how* to think, rather than *what* to think.

The North Dakota Department of Public Instruction began offering three teacher training programs and a four-part Native curriculum built around the North Dakota Centennial celebration after a survey showed that 99 percent of North Dakota teachers did not have books about Native Americans in their classrooms. Other findings of the survey showed 75 percent of the teachers did not frequently plan activities reflective of cultural diversity, while 91 percent did not plan activities reflecting Native culture.[33]

A school in Pawnee, Oklahoma, has found a unique solution to a political, social, and legal dilemma. Helen Norris's Indian students visited Pawnee homelands in Republic, Nebraska, and toured the original earth lodges of their ancestors. In 1985, 42 students and their parents traveled to the Field Museum in Chicago to visit the largest display of Pawnee artifacts in the United States. In 1988 students wrote to the Nebraska Historical Society, asking the society to release 378 skeletal remains of their ancestors and burial goods that had been dug up. Their letters became part of a congressional hearing report and were instrumental in the reburial of 146 Pawnee, Arikara, and Wichita ancestors who had been put on public display in Salina, Kansas. The students also raised money for a Pendleton blanket to be placed on one of the bodies for burial. This labor of love encompassed cultural and linguistic tradition, writing, speaking, listening, researching, and communicating with elders, staff, attorneys, legislators, and one another.[34]

United National Indian Tribal Youth (UNITY), an Oklahoma-based national organization, is involved in activities that enable Native youth to meet together, define problems, identify solutions, and develop strategies to address their concerns. The goals and strategies are built around spirituality, unity, environment, heritage, sovereignty, family, individual, education, health, economy, sobriety, and service.

The Cheyenne Circle Keepers consists of children in four western Oklahoma communities who have pledged to keep their bodies, minds, and spirits strong—in holding with ancient tradition. They have special interactions with their Native elders, learning the history and traditions that keep a people strong. Their gourd dance clan is a powerful presence, showing what love for children and elders can produce.

The value of embracing our cultural roots is echoed by Paul Boyer:

> If we have learned anything from our relationship with the American Indian, it is that people cannot be torn from their cultural roots without harm. To the extent that we fail to assist Native Americans through their own institutions, to reclaim their past and secure their future, we are compounding the costly errors of the past.[16]

A Call for a National Native Curriculum Project

To meet the education needs of Native students, it is essential that we establish a National Native Curriculum Project, funded by the U.S. Department of Education, as an entitlement based on treaty rights. The need is clear, not only for Native students but for all students, to create more accurate learning experiences related to American Indians and Alaska Natives.

This National Native Curriculum Project should have a central office, director, and staff of Native curriculum developers with years of experience in Native communities and education. Regional offices should be established in each of the identified cultural areas to develop locally researched Native curricula that accurately reflect the lifeways of the people. The results would necessarily be tribal-specific, nonstereotypical, authentic, and free of cultural bias. All regional centers would feed into the national center (and vice versa). The result would be a curriculum of empowerment for students, enhanced by the generous contributions of all Native groups for all Native children. This curriculum, accompanied by accurate resource materials, would be placed in every school in the United States to bring children honor and to ensure that future generations may benefit from this decisive action.

In this way, we can change years of misinformation to achieve a future that goes beyond the "Thanksgiving and Indians" syndrome. The contributions of Native peoples would be discussed, along with heroes and holidays, resulting in a higher level of learning. The structure of the curriculum itself would be transformed to enable students to view concepts, issues, events, and themes from the unique and diverse perspectives of Native groups. Then, and only then, will students gain the necessary level of critical thinking to make thoughtful decisions on issues and proactive personal choices.

In conclusion, we must join together now to make a good life for our children and our children's children seven generations to come. Creating caring classroom communities that nurture the human spirit, regardless of ethnicity, is the beginning step in building an educational environment that does not assault any student's culture.

Together, we can move from the inaccurate and trivial to the meaningful essence of who we all are. We can work together to create acceptance and understanding that will naturally carry us to real relationships with one another. We can foster authentic interaction based on respect and trust, which will lead to the education of children who have powerful voices for peaceful relations with others. Now *there* is a curriculum with meaning for all of us. Our children can grow up respected and respectful, having the inner resources and strength to act with love, wisdom, reason, and responsibility. They can build their world with the power of love and acceptance.

We are responsible for what we teach and how we teach. Rethinking our approach to a curriculum for diversity will send a message. We value one another. We believe we can create unity in all our diversity. We believe our children have the critical thinking skills to examine our collective histories, not just memorize dates and facts, but to comprehend meaning, practice application, analyze, synthesize, and evaluate critically. We can trust our children. Can they trust us? In America at the close of the twentieth century, democratic values of tolerance, acceptance, respect, responsibility, and justice remain the cornerstones of our way of life. Can we rekindle our passion for "liberty and justice for all" and purposefully create a life that reflects what we value?

Be models of liberty. Be models of justice. Embrace our diversity, for it truly is our greatest strength.

Notes

1. Linda Skinner (Choctaw) teaches in Edmond, Oklahoma, Public Schools.

2. See Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*.

3. House Executive Document, 93-97.

4. In *Bilingual and ESL Classrooms*, Ovando and Collier observe the following: "Many studies have shown that cognitive and academic development in L1 has a strong, positive effect of L2 development for academic purposes. . . . Academic skills, literacy development, concept formation, subject knowledge, and learning strategies all transfer from L1 and L2 as the vocabulary and communicative patterns are developed in L2 to express that academic knowledge. [Jim] Cummins . . . refers to this phenomenon as 'common underlying proficiency' or the 'interdependence' of languages. Cummins' view is supported by research in linquistic universals, which has found many properties common across all languages at deep underlying structural levels. . . . Only in surface structures do languages appear to be radically different. But still deeper than language itself is the underlying knowledge base and life experience that students have development in L1, all of which is available to them once they have the ability to express that knowledge in L2."

5. See U.S. Board of Indian Commissioners, 1870 *Annual Report*.

6. Medicine, *Speaking Indian*, 3.

7. Brunn, *Ethnohistories*, 12.

8. See Jamieson, *The Aboriginal Language Policy Study*.

9. McGee, *Bureau of Ethnology Report*, 11.

10. See Reeves, "The High Cost of Endurance."

11. Bauman, *A Guide to Issues in Indian Language Retention*, 7.

12. Ibid., 9.

13. Ibid., 10.

14. Ibid., 11.

15. See Inouye, Congressional Record, Senate.

16. Silentman, *Revaluing Indigenous Language Resources*.

17. See Littlebear, "A Model."

18. See American Indian Policy Review Commission, *Report on Indian Education*.

19. Tippeconnic, *American Indians*, 256.

20. Kaupp, personal correspondence, November 1990.

21. Textbooks perpetuate inaccuracies and myths about Indians. Non-Native authors write most textbooks and trade books. Most are filled with

propaganda from mainstream society's perspective including untruths, half-truths, obvious omissions, and terminology laden with cultural bias. Virtually no mandated local, state, or federal classes in the United States offer an accurate history of Natives in America (prehistory, transition, contemporary, and implications for the future).

22. Often, memorization of verbal labels is confused with the infinite creativity of speaking a language.

23. See Boyer, *Native American Colleges.*

24. Ibid., 98.

25. Ibid.

26. See Skinner, *Teaching Through Traditions.*

27. See Boyer, *Native American Colleges.*

28. See Watahomigie's testimony, Indian Nations At Risk (INAR) Task Force, *Indian Nations At Risk.*

29. See Graves's testimony, INAR Task Force, *Indian Nations At Risk.*

30. Public Law 100-297, Section 5106.

31. See Graves's testimony, INAR Task Force, *Indian Nations At Risk.*

32. Ibid.

33. See Kulas's testimony, INAR Task Force, *Indian Nations At Risk.*

34. See Norris's testimony, INAR Task Force, *Indian Nations At Risk.*

35. See Boyer, *Native American Colleges.*

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Chapter 6

The Native American Learner and Bicultural Science Education

Gregory A. Cajete[1]

> *Cultural revitalization and restoration has resulted from education from a Native perspective. This has been one of the positive aspects of the educational emphasis upon Native language and culture which has remained vibrant despite all efforts to change our institutions.*
>
> —Bea Medicine, "Contemporary Cultural Revitalization"

Understanding the nature of the Native American learner must guide efforts to improve the education of Native Americans. To this end, studies concerning how best to educate Native Americans have been conducted since the 1960s.[2] These studies have advocated comprehensively exploring the unique and culturally conditioned learning characteristics of Native Americans and applying such research to improving Native American education. Unfortunately, few of these studies have focused on the distinct culturally conditioned learning characteristics of Native Americans. Instead, most approaches have attempted to adjust Native students to the learning norms most valued within mainstream American education. Basing their approach on the assumption that Native American children suffer from *cultural deprivation*, educators have attempted to change the learning style of Native Americans through *educational reconditioning*, in this way helping students conform to the mainstream education system. The record of Native American education—from the earliest missionary attempts to the boarding school era to public schooling in the mid-1980s—shows the prevalence of such attempts.

Fortunately, with the new emphasis on *self-determination* and the concurrent onset of Native American cultural revitalization, this situation has slowly begun to change. However, to strengthen the movement toward more culturally relevant and learner-sensitive educational approaches, some important factors must be considered.

Native Americans have undergone periodic adaptations of language and culture during the 1900s. The nature and degree of this transition varies according to individual, social, and environmental circumstances. Many Native American students can be classified as being English dominant in their language usage. Many have encountered in their homes and communities varying degrees of traditionalism in interpreting the natural world. Some identify strongly with both the cultural and linguistic revitalization of their particular tribal group. These factors have important ramifications for teaching science to such students. For instance, identifying with tribal roots can strongly motivate students to learn about science and its role in some aspect of their tribal heritage.

While some students are rediscovering their tribal identities, others are truly bilingual and bicultural. With these students, the bicultural approach to science is equally important, but for different reasons. Such students generally want to continue to learn and live within the context of both cultures. Instruction in bicultural science for these students can result in a positive attitude toward science and reaffirmation of their tribal identity. Another reason to use a bicultural approach to science instruction is that it provides a way to bridge differences in worldview concerning natural phenomena.

Native American Valuing in Transition

For Native Americans, participation in the U.S. education system has always presented the challenge of coming to terms with two distinctly different value orientations. The psychological conflict that can result often lies at the heart of poor academic achievement by a large number of Native Americans.

Successful learning is tied to the degree of personal relevance the student perceives in the educational task. The basis for this premise stems from the idea that motivation toward any pursuit is energized by the individual's own constellation of personal and sociocultural values.[4] A Native student's constellation of values has ancient and well-developed roots in the tribal social psyche. It is because of these deep-rooted values that unconscious aspects of Native American social personalities remain so durable and relatively visible through layers of acculturation. Understanding and using this cultural constellation of values can provide the key to motivating Native Americans to learn science.

Research from a variety of sources supports the notion that an insightful, well-integrated, and consistent cognitive map and worldview leads to a healthy concept of self and positive social adjustment. The opposite condition is usually apparent when chronic inconsistencies and conflicts arise between the internal constellation of values and those of the external social environment. The accelerated rate of change in Native American cultures since World War II has increased the inconsistences in worldview and cognitive mapping in the social, cultural, and psychological fabric of Native American life. As a result, many people experience tremendous internal tension. Chronic cultural conflict has given rise to a variety of emotional and social problems, the ramifications of which are poorly understood.

Understanding the core cultural values of Native American tribal groups, and how such values differ from the implied values inherent in American education, is essential to bicultural education. But what exactly are these core values, where do they reside, and how are they involved in the current transition of Native American valuing? The following example from Pueblo Indian philosophy may illustrate the origins of a particular set of Native American core values.

According to Torey Purley of Laguna Pueblo, in Keresan Pueblo Indian philosophy, the mythological being, Thinking Woman plays an important role in the process of human valuing. Thinking Woman orders the universe by maintaining the balanced interrelationship among four worlds of being. The first world involves the collectivity of prior human experience (similar to Carl Jung's collective unconscious). The second world involves learning and the development of the individual. The third world involves the development of thinking, especially at its higher levels. The fourth world synthesizes all life within oneself, the individual life cycle. These worlds are so intertwined there is perpetual movement of our being in each world simultaneously.[3]

In contrast to the notion of some scholars that Native American cultures tend not to conceptualize abstractly, one can see that the Keresan philosophical concept of Thinking Woman is highly abstract. In fact, the example of Thinking Woman as an abstract concept requiring very creative conceptualization is characteristic of the traditional worldviews underlying most Native American philosophies. In addition, constructs such as Thinking Woman directly influence the traditional, spiritual, and intellectual valuing within the framework of the traditional culture. F. Strum and Purley explain, for instance, that two interrelated valuing processes are involved in the concept of Thinking Woman and the four worlds of being. The first is called *Ma-shra,* which refers to immediate perceptions and the valuing therein based on the individual's experience of the immediate environment. The second is called *Shae-tah-ea,* or *like this it is,* which refers to learning by being shown and the valuing that results from such teaching. Thinking Woman can be thought of as a process and frame of reference upon which core cultural values are formed. The goal of such a valuing process is to achieve a balance of those things that are valuable to the life and harmony of the Keresan.

Thinking Woman represents an ideal philosophical construct from which traditional values of the Keresan are expressed. However, the increasing assimilation of U.S. mainstream values by Pueblo Indians is greatly changing this traditional framework for valuing. Other Native American cultures are experiencing similar transformations.

One can say in reference to contemporary Pueblo Indian valuing that four categories are reflected in the personal value constellation of individuals. These include the Pueblo-Indian-that-is, the Pueblo-Indian-in-transition, the newfound-Pueblo-Indian, and the Pueblo-Indian-that-isn't. The Pueblo-Indian-that-is lives life according to a set of values firmly rooted in the traditional Pueblo mind-set. The

Pueblo-Indian-in-transition lives according to value sets of both the traditional Pueblo culture and mainstream society. The newfound-Pueblo-Indian is usually an individual who has not been raised in a Pueblo context and is consciously in search of his or her traditional roots. The value set of this group is externally and acutely oriented to an idealized standard of traditional Pueblo culture. The Pueblo-Indian-who-isn't, for a variety of environmental and personal reasons, has consciously decided to adopt mainstream cultural values.[5]

In reality, the above categories depend on local circumstances, and an individual may alternate among the value orientations during different phases of his or her life. Human cultural valuing is a dynamic ever-evolving process, and human cognitive development does not fit neatly into categories. However, the example of Thinking Woman and Pueblo valuing illustrates the kinds of value sets characteristic of all Native American cultures and individuals existing within contemporary American society.

Pueblo Indians are among the most tenacious of American Indians in preserving their traditional culture. Yet, even among the Pueblos, the transition of values directly affects attitudes toward education. The core cultural values of Native Americans and their resultant influences on attitudes and behaviors are relatively submerged since such values tend to operate at the subconscious level. It is this characteristic subconscious influence of core cultural values that must be addressed by any educational strategy.

Because core values invariably affect education outcomes, it is important that the teacher, teaching methods, and curricular content reflect this dimension of the learner. It follows, then, that an effective and natural way for learning to begin is to help students become aware of their core values. This can be accomplished when the teacher shows the students how the content presented in a particular subject area (such as science) is relevant to or otherwise enhances an understanding of the students' core cultural values.

A student's core cultural values can act as psychological *energizers* powering the development of a positive self-image. In a bicultural approach to education, helping students bring core cultural values into their conscious awareness for examination is a transformational necessity. This process sets the stage for students to synthesize creatively and interpret these values in new and psychologically rewarding contexts. Based on these assumptions, recognizing the core cultural value structure of students becomes a powerful learning aid if teachers use this insight into their students' minds and lives in creative and constructive ways.

Traditional Native American Values and Behaviors

The following paragraphs draw contrasts between selected and widely shared Native American core cultural values and non-Native American values and associated behaviors and attitudes. These brief descriptions are somewhat idealized. They cannot reflect the wide variations within Native American communities that result from different levels of cultural assimilation among individuals nor the differences among various Native American cultures across the North American continent; yet, these values are common enough that readers may have encountered them already.

Personal differences. Native Americans traditionally have respected the unique individual differences among people. Common Native American expressions of this value include staying out of others' affairs and verbalizing personal thoughts or opinions only when asked. Returning this courtesy is expected by many Native Americans as an expression of mutual respect.

Quietness. Quietness or silence is a value that serves many purposes in Indian life. Historically the cultivation of this value contributed to survival. In social situations, when they are angry or uncomfortable, many Indians remain silent. Non-Indians sometimes view this trait as indifference, when in reality, it is a very deeply embedded form of Indian interpersonal etiquette.

Patience. In Native American life, the virtue of patience is based on the belief that all things unfold in time. Like silence, patience was a survival virtue in earlier times. In social situations, patience is needed to demonstrate respect for individuals, reach group consensus, and allow time for "the second thought." Overt pressure on Indian students to make quick decisions or responses without deliberation should be avoided in most educational situations.

Open work ethic. In traditional Indian life, work is always directed to a distinct purpose and is done when it needs to be done. The nonmaterialistic orientation of many Indians is one outcome of this value. Only that which is actually needed is accumulated through work. In formal education, a rigid schedule of work for work's sake (busy work) needs to be avoided because it tends to move against the grain of this traditional value. Schoolwork must be shown to have an immediate and authentic purpose.

Mutualism. As a value, attitude, and behavior, mutualism permeates everything in the traditional Indian social fabric. Mutualism promotes a sense of belonging and solidarity with group members cooperating to gain group security and consensus. In American education, the tendency has been to stress competition and work for personal gain over cooperation. The emphasis on grades and personal honors are examples. In dealing with Indian students, this tendency must be modified by incorporating cooperative activities on an equal footing with competitive activities in the learning environment.

Nonverbal orientation. Traditionally most Indians have tended to prefer listening rather than speaking. Talking for talking's sake is rarely practiced. Talk, just as work, must have a purpose. Small talk and light conversation are not especially valued except among very close acquaintances. In Indian thought, words have a primordial power so that when there is a reason for their expression, it is generally done carefully. In social interaction, the emphasis is on affective rather than verbal communication. When planning and presenting lessons, it is best to avoid pressing a class discussion or asking a long series of rapid-fire questions. This general characteristic explains why many Indian students feel more comfortable with lectures or demonstrations. Teachers can effectively use the inquiry approach, role playing, or simulation to demonstrate they have a full understanding of this characteristic.

Seeing and listening. In earlier times, hearing, observing, and memorizing were important skills since practically all aspects of Native American culture were transferred orally or through example. Storytelling, oratory, and experiential and observational learning were all highly developed in Native American cultures. In an education setting, the use of lectures and demonstrations, modified case studies, storytelling, and experiential activities can all be highly effective. A balance among teaching methods that emphasize listening and observation, as well as speaking, is an important consideration.

Time orientation. In the Indian world, things happen when they are ready to happen. Time is relatively flexible and generally not structured into compartments as it is in modern society. Because structuring time and measuring it into precise units are hallmarks of public schools in the United States, disharmony can arise between the tradition-oriented Indian learner and the material being presented. The solution is to allow for scheduling flexibility within practical limits.

Orientation to present. Traditionally most Indians have oriented themselves to the present and the immediate tasks at hand. This orientation stems from the deep philosophical emphasis on *being* rather than on *becoming*. Present needs and desires tend to take precedence over vague future rewards. Although this orientation has changed considerably over the past 40 years, vestiges are still apparent in the personalities of many Native Americans. Given this characteristic, the learning material should have a sense of immediate relevancy for the time and place of each student.

Practicality. Indians tend to be practical minded. Many Indians have less difficulty comprehending educational materials and approaches that are concrete or experiential rather than abstract and theoretical. Given this characteristic, learning and teaching should begin with numerous concrete examples and activities to be followed by discussion of the abstraction.

Holistic orientation. Indian cultures, like most primal cultures, have a long-standing and well-integrated orientation to the whole. This is readily apparent in various aspects of Indian cultures, ranging from healing to social organization. Presenting educational material from a holistic perspective is an essential and natural strategy for teaching Indian people.

Spirituality. Religious thought and action are integrated into every aspect of the sociocultural fabric of traditional Native American life. Spirituality is considered a natural component of everything. When presenting new concepts, teachers should keep in mind that all aspects of Indian cultures are touched by it. Discussing general aspects of spirituality and religion is an important part of the curriculum, although precautions must be taken to respect the integrity, sacred value, and inherent privacy of each Indian tribe's religious practices. Ideally all discussions of Native American religion should be kept as general and nonspecific as possible. Specifics should be discussed only in the proper context and with the necessary permission of the particular tribe involved.

Caution. The tendency toward caution in unfamiliar personal encounters and situations has given rise to the stereotypical portrayal of the stoic Indian. This characteristic is closely related to the placidity and quiet behavior of many Indian people. In many cases, such caution results from a basic fear regarding how their thoughts and behavior will be accepted by others with whom they are unfamiliar or in a new situation with which they have no experience. Educators should make every effort to alleviate these fears and show that students' subjective orientations are accepted by the teacher. To the extent possible, the class and lesson presentation should be made as informal and open as possible. Open friendliness and sincerity are key factors in easing these tensions.

Classroom discipline. Most Indian people value the cultivation of self-discipline and rarely resort to direct punishment or demeaning personal criticism. Behavior is regulated through group and peer pressure. Withdrawing approval, expressing shame, and reflecting unacceptable behavior back to the individual are the main forms of punishment in the traditional Indian context. In the classroom, direct and demeaning personal criticism in front of others is considered rude and disrespectful and can lead to "loss of face" and complete withdrawal and alienation by the student. Withdrawing approval and communicating clearly the consequences of breeching standard behavior are key considerations in this situation.[6]

Field-sensitive orientation (group orientation, a sensitivity for a field of social relationships). A significant number of Native Americans tend to express field-sensitive behaviors as opposed to field-independent behavioral characteristics.[7] This has direct implications for the learning styles Native Americans exhibit. The most important implications include the following: Native American learners will respond more readily to personalized encouragement coupled with guidance and demonstration from the teacher; Native American learners tend to base much of their motivation for learning on the affective relationship with the teacher; and Native American learners tend to respond best to learning formats that are group oriented and humanized through the extensive use of narration, humor, drama, and affective modeling in the presentation of content.[8]

Implementing Bicultural Science Education

The scientific rationalistic viewpoint has become an integral part of the American education structure. This viewpoint has become so ingrained in the psyche that most Americans view reality in no other way. Because of this conditioning, science education in most schools is the subject most insensitive to the diverse sociocultural environments from which students come.

Learning is tied to the job. The following example demonstrates the differences and possible points of antagonism among European American and Native American approaches to teaching and learning science.

In Native American society, learning how to hunt is a programmed sequence of observations and experiences tied to a process:

1. learning the habits of the animal to be hunted—via mythology, listening, and observation;
2. learning how to track, read appropriate signs, and stalk the animal—via observation, intuition, and reasoning;
3. learning the appropriate respect and ritual that is to be extended to the animal—via a "mind-set";
4. learning how to care properly for the carcass of the animal once it has been taken—via an ecological ethic and technology;
5. learning how to utilize fully the various parts of the animal taken—via technology.

All of these processes require a variety of teaching techniques that range from formal instruction to experiential learning by doing. They must take place within a particular contextual framework necessary for conveying these forms of knowledge.[9]

This type of learning is directly tied to the job or activity to be completed and involves teaching to accomplish a specific goal. Students learn much by careful observation. Within this traditional process of teaching and learning, teachers are many, and situations are numerous. Learning how to hunt becomes a part of the life cycle of the Native American individual and community. In Native American cultures, education is grounded in the challenge of learning practical skills and knowledge in a real-life context.

Modern European American education, however, imparts to students conceptual frames of reference that prepare them for future tasks deemed important in an industrial and technological society. Learning material is typically laid out in a distinct linear pattern. The curriculum is mapped out hierarchically, beginning with the objectives for each grade level and moving to more specific unit and individual lesson plans, each with their own objectives and associated learning activities.

This highly structured and programmed approach is useful in that it allows for easier teaching of large numbers of students and a greater consistency in what is learned. Yet, if one views this approach in terms of addressing individual student learning styles, many problems become apparent. When looking at Native American students with some understanding of cultural influences on learning style, the teacher encounters major difficulties with this approach.

Much of modern education involves to one extent or another imposing a preconceived psychological pattern of "right ways to do things" and "wrong ways to do things." In public schools, this pattern involves imposing a modern American societal will on all those who participate in American public education. However, in imposing such a societal will upon what is taught and how it is to be learned, many students are denied use of their own innate repertoire of intelligences and cultural styles of learning. Learning by simply doing, experiencing, and making connections that coincide with the personal and cultural intelligences and learning styles students bring with them from home can be significantly diminished through such a homogenization of the education process.

Understanding what constitutes reality for different cultural groups and establishing communication about nature that is meaningful for each are basic aims of bicultural science education. The preliminary steps toward this end necessarily begin with a careful study of how students perceive familiar natural phenomena. In reference to Native American attitudes and ideas about these phenomena, one often finds a mixture of observations based upon combinations of folk, experiential, and school-derived sources. Such observations may appear to be contradictory, and a teacher might wonder how these disparate combinations of ideas about nature can be comfortably accommodated within a single student's understanding of the world. To a non-Native American observer, this mixture of perspectives may seem to be a paradox that must be reconciled.

Studies of cognitive development, however, imply we are all capable of having more than one internally consistent mind-set concerning natural reality.[10] The conditioning of Western scientific schooling may make it seem otherwise. This conditioning of students to think in only one way regarding the explanation of natural phenomena is a key concern in enhancing creative scientific thinking because such conditioning eventually stifles creative learning.[11]

In addition, one often finds that opportunities to learn about or practice the skills necessary for Western science are not present within the student's home. This is common in many Native American households. However, this does not necessarily mean that students have not acquired skills in applying cultural knowledge to their natural environment. On the contrary, many Native American students from traditional backgrounds have gained relatively rich experiences through a variety of cultural and practical encounters with the natural environment. But the sources of knowledge of nature and the explanations of natural phenomena within a traditional Native American context are often at odds with what is learned in "school science" and proposed by Western scientific philosophy. Herein lies a very real conflict between two distinctly different worldviews: the mutualistic/holistic-oriented worldview of Native American cultures and the rationalistic/dualistic worldview of Western science that divides, analyzes, and objectifies.

In regard to this conflict, science educators have generally adopted an either/or attitude. That is, most science educators have determined that if non-Western explanations of natural phenomena do not fit the Western scientific framework, they are not scientific. This is not a new attitude. From the earliest days of missionary education to the days of Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) boarding school education to the present, the attitude of replacing the "primitive" beliefs of

Native Americans with the "correct" beliefs of science has been an integral part of the curriculum. Such a difference in perspective has caused much conflict in Native American students, families, communities, and schools.

What measures can science educators take to decrease the confrontation of a student's cultural worldview with that of Western science? First, introduce students to the basic skills of science. Use familiar objects or events to build upon students' innate interests and curiosity. Students then become involved with science as a process of observing, classifying, collecting information, and making generalizations with reference to phenomena they know about. Second, once students learn to apply these basic skills, compare ways in which science as a thought process is exemplified in students' particular cultures and in that of the larger society. Third, analyze various symbols as they relate to explanations of natural phenomena in both traditional culture and Western science. Teachers should not present one perspective in preference to another.

In every culture, the inherent thought process of science attempts to relate derived symbols of phenomena to one another in such a way as to develop a pattern of thought concerning those events. And while many Native American students may come from environments in which they are not exposed to, or have not developed skills required for, the established patterns of Western science, they *are* exposed to the process of making sense of natural phenomena. That is, they have some skill in relating important culturally derived symbols of phenomena within the framework of what is meaningful to them.[17]

The model, or symbolic map, of concepts representing what is important in a particular culture's natural reality is important to the way members of that culture apply the science process and develop their mind-set. In addition, much of the communication concerning natural phenomena is highly contextual in Native American cultures. That is, information concerning natural phenomena is presented in the most appropriate context by using symbolic vehicles such as art, myth, or ritual. Relationships among natural phenomena are observed and symbolically coded in a variety of forms based on experiential knowledge of the phenomena. In contrast, Western science is low context in terms of both communication and processing of information. That is, information concerning natural phenomena is often highly specific, parts oriented, and presented outside of the contexts within which the phenomena naturally occur or are observed. Western science is based upon a set of relationships among concepts or theories derived from the observation of natural phenomena.[13]

Orientations for Implementation

Given the differences between the way Native American cultures and Western science apply the science process, what are some of the other considerations for implementing a bicultural approach to science? First, teachers must keep in mind there is both an ideal and a reality in the implementation of any approach to education. Both of these dimensions directly affect the way a teacher teaches science. If a teacher begins with the premise that teaching is a communicative art, one can apply the appropriate research concerning the teaching, accumulation, and learning of language to explain the complexities encountered in the classroom.

Teaching is essentially the processing and communicating of information to students in a form they can readily understand, combined with facilitating their learning and relative cognitive development. Ideally the teaching methods and information presented will be in a form that is relevant and meaningful to the students. Since language is the dominant mode of communication in teaching and learning, studies of language acquisition are important sources for understanding the dynamics of this overall process. Research shows that after a language is learned, it is initially used as the basis for learning subsequent languages. We actively engage in a gradual, subconscious, and creative process to acquire the knowledge and ability to use a language and understand its underlying assumptions and cultural frames of reference.[14]

People apparently learn a new language in two characteristic ways—through unconscious acquisition or through a more conscious process. The most natural way to learn a language requires no formal teaching. Instead, it involves *immersion* in the environment in which the particular language is spoken. The other method requires the formal study of how a particular language is structured. This includes learning grammatical rules, correctness of form, and other technical requirements.[15]

If one views science as a special kind of language for communicating information about nature, the method of learning a language has very important implications for teaching and learning science. Science can be learned the same way young children naturally acquire a whole language system: by being in an environment in which that language is cultivated. This implies children must be exposed to an environment that is acquisition-rich in the language of science. Ideally both the home and school environments should offer many opportunities to practice and develop the application of the science process. However, this is rarely the case. The task becomes one of creating acquisition-rich, science-process environments in schools. Elements composing such environments might include various opportunities to encounter the natural environment: field trips; visits to appropriate museums and national or state parks; art, social science, or culturally related projects dealing with the science process; storytelling or guest speakers; hands-on activities involving science as process; and the creative presentation of science as both a discipline and a cultural system of thought.[16]

Another useful concept in understanding the acquisition of science language and literacy is the relevant-input hypothesis.[17] This hypothesis suggests that a key to acquiring a second language is a source of content that is familiar, easy to understand, interesting, and relevant to the environment of the learner. If science can be thought of as a kind of literacy, the relevant-input hypothesis suggests science has a language with content, symbol systems, and structure that can be learned very much like other second languages. The relevant-input hypothesis also suggests that we acquire new language structures through understanding messages that contain the new structures rather than being taught them directly. The implications of this hypothesis for teaching science are many. Students can learn new science constructs more effectively if they are encountered first in *messages* that contain the new constructs. That is, one can teach about science by teaching about something else and relating that something else back to a particular aspect in science. This can be done by integrating ideas and structures (or constructs) from the arts, humanities, or social sciences into the presentation of science.[18]

Further Considerations

There are several other essential elements in developing an effective approach to bicultural teaching and learning. First, the mismatch between students' home environments and the school environment is often identified as the reason for the maladjustment of Native American students to school. Most often the nature of the home environment is pointed to as the main problem. This situation has had important ramifications for both the emotional and cognitive growth of the Native American student within the school environment. The second element includes the values, religion, community, and social context from which Native American students derive their frames of reference. These factors are essential to understanding the way in which teaching/learning activities affect students. In addition, the styles of nonverbal communication used in classrooms and the social context of the school itself play important roles in shaping student perceptions of education.

The cultural mismatch between home and school has been the subject of much research in bicultural education, leading to some important insights that directly impact Native American education. For instance, researchers have found that how a minority group perceives itself as being viewed by the dominant culture often influences the self-esteem and self-concept of minority students within a particular school environment. In other words, for practically all Native American students, school represents an emotional challenge. Variations among different tribal cultures and relative levels of acculturation that Native American students bring with them from home couple with individual personality differences to form important aspects of their emotional structures.

Many Native Americans view themselves as minorities, apart from mainstream culture, because they are deemed as such by the school. The fact they are frequently looked upon as being different has had a detrimental effect on their self-images. As they grow older, they begin to perceive what is valued and not valued within mainstream culture. They realize that much of what makes up their core cultural values is not seen as valid or important, and they feel compelled to either adapt or retreat.

Native American students' awareness of this underlying bias in favor of Western values often directly affects their attitudes toward certain school disciplines such as science. In a complex interplay among student, home, school, and community, many Native American students internalize the assumption, based on their experiences in school, that the school and the rest of mainstream society expect less of them than of non-Indian students. As a result, students expect less of themselves and adopt stereotypical images of themselves and their cultures. To counteract this scenario, educators must make a great effort to encourage and expect excellence from Native American students.

Aside from home environment and culture, language is another major element within a bicultural education program. When one views teaching as a *communicative art* and language as the most basic part of that communication, the way language is used to present content becomes an important issue. A Native American student whose first language is an Indigenous dialect may come to school with a different orientation to sound and symbol relationships and may exhibit a unique pattern of thought and style of communication. Such differences require a sensitive approach to the presentation of each subject, especially modern science since it may be the least familiar to Native American students from a traditional home environment. Science as a process of thought is learned not only in school but also through interaction in the home and with the surrounding natural environment. This affects the student's perception of modern science.

In many contemporary Native American cultures, traditional culture and language are being revitalized. Within this context, it is not too uncommon to find students, as well as their parents, consciously involved in relearning or reviving these aspects of their cultural heritage. Language revitalization, along with a resurgence of cultural identity, will directly affect the perceptions and attitudes of Native American students toward science. Even when a Native American student does not come from a traditional Native American background, the bicultural approach presents important advantages.[19]

Very much like the learning of a new language, the learning of science can provide valuable perspectives concerning the way another culture views nature. The comparison of a particular Native American view of science with that of Western science can broaden students' perspectives of science. It can help all students become more open and less isolated within the confines of a single cultural viewpoint.

Discovering the Student

Discovering and understanding the student—culturally, socially, and individually—is a first step in implementing a bicultural approach to education. This recognition of diversity is often given "lip service" but is otherwise neglected or poorly represented in the development of curricula. When educators fail to consider students' feelings about a particular approach, they may inadvertently alienate students instead of motivating them. Sometimes, well-intended educators follow models too literally and overemphasize an ideal picture of a cultural group, thereby perpetuating stereotypes not based in reality, or reflecting an outmoded view of the evolving character of a particular cultural group.

Such stereotyping is often the result of relying too heavily on ethnographic descriptions of a culture, while failing to recognize that cultures change and that students within those cultures may have very different views of those cultures than are commonly represented in the literature. While such descriptions provide an important starting point, they should always be tested against reality. And the best way to do this is by facilitating discussion of the kinds of characteristics students perceive as being a part of their culture and experience. The reality of a culture experienced by a student may be a *collage* of values and perceptions that does not resemble very closely the statements in the literature. The student's reality does not negate traditional realities of the culture but exists beside or intertwined with these realities.

Getting reliable information on the cultural characteristics of students is essential to an effective and meaningful implementation of the bicultural education approach. Careful observation of student compositions, informal discussion with students and parents, and involvement with cultural activities within the community are all helpful in developing needed perspectives.

Learning style is a dimension of the interplay of our *insider* and *outsider* realities; it is conditioned by our individual and cultural environments. Learning style has three dimensions: ways of thinking, ways of feeling, and basic inherited tendencies. Of these three dimensions, the affective, or ways of feeling, is the least well understood, yet, at all stages of learning, it is one of the most influential.[20]

According to Rita Dunn, learning style

> is the way individuals concentrate on, absorb, and retain new or difficult information or skills. It is not the materials, methods, or strategies that people use to learn; those are the resources that complement each person's styles. Style comprises a combination of environmental, emotional, sociological, physical, and psychological elements that permit individuals to receive, store, and use knowledge or abilities.[21]

As stated before, a major reason many Native American students feel alienated from mainstream education is the incongruence between the approaches to and expectations of learning at home and at school. The home learning environment of many Native Americans is characterized by such factors as freedom of movement, learning through direct experience, and hands-on and activity-oriented learning. These learning models emphasize visual, spatial, and kinesthetic orientations. In contrast, in the typical school environment, free movement is significantly restricted and indirect intellectual learning, which emphasizes verbal, mathematical, and logical orientations, is the norm. In some cases, the disparity between home and school environments is so great that Native American students experience a kind of culture shock that significantly affects their attitudes toward school.[22]

Of the many possible behavioral learning styles, none have been isolated as distinctly Native American, but some general tendencies are recognizable. These include a predominantly nonverbal orientation; tendency toward visual, spatial, and kinesthetic modes of learning; heavy reliance on visual perception and memory; preference for movement and activity while learning; and preference for process learning that moves from concrete examples to abstractions.[23]

These tendencies present major implications for science curriculum development for Native Americans. Recognizing that a cultural difference in affective learning style exists between the home and school environment is an important step toward developing more creative and effective teaching strategies for Native American learners. Floy C. Pepper writes the following:

> The basic concept of having instruction fit the real nature of the Indian learner, rather than trying to make the Indian learner fit the school, opens the door to recognizing individual differences, behavioral learning styles and teaching strategies.[24]

The following practices could help teachers get to know their students and successfully implement a bicultural orientation to the education process:

- Explore the student's home and cultural background. This includes such areas as social orientation, parents' expectations of school, parents' educational background, and the student's affective orientations toward home and community.
- Observe students in the school context with special attention to interactions with peer groups, affective emotional characteristics, styles of verbal and nonverbal communication, and predisposition toward specific teaching or learning styles (such as whether they are predominately relational or analytical).
- Explore students' expressions of core values, which can provide insights into their cultural worldviews. The goal is to identify those values that can be focused upon in the development of curricula and that students perceive as relevant to their cultural identity.

The dimensions presented here are preliminary indications of possibilities and considerations of the learner within bicultural education. Each area has been addressed only in general terms. A comprehensive exploration of each area would require a major research endeavor that could enhance an understanding of bicultural education and broaden the realm of possibilities for creative teaching.

Postscript

I began writing this chapter during a period of reflective thought and research from 1982 to 1986 while writing my dissertation. Thus, this chapter is a snapshot of one author's early awareness of an approach to making science relevant to Native American learners by building upon the bicultural background each student brings to school. This has since become a prevalent assumption in current research regarding ways to improve science education for Native American and other minority students. Today bicultural considerations related to teaching and learning are termed "culturally syntonic variables," defined as "those factors which are in harmony with the normative behavior, values and attitudes of a particular ethnic or cultural group."[25] Culturally syntonic variables include curricula materials, preferred instructional and learning modes, language of instruction, peer interaction, role models, contexts of learning, and interaction with learning materials.[26]

Added to the research on culturally responsive classrooms is the growing literature on creative approaches to scientific inquiry, the multicultural history of science, brain-based methodologies, and constructivism in science teaching. All of these current areas of research reaffirm the essential role of cultural relevance in the teaching of science.

In recent years, Indian education literature has moved away from the notion that Native American learners exhibit a particular type of culturally determined learning style. Instead, the emerging research shows that Native American students reflect all possible modes of learning, but these learning modes are mediated by their particular cultural orientation. Cultural orientation, especially in terms of language, continues to influence the learning and perception of science by Native American learners.

During the dozen years since this chapter was first conceived, the loss of language among Native American youth has increased significantly. Today most Native American students speak only English, though a minority of students still understand their Native languages. Thinking first in their Native language and then translating into English is no longer the case among most Native American students. The reverse—thinking in English and trying to find a word in their Native language that fits—is now the norm. Despite this situation, the influence of a cultural constellation of values is still extensive.

I would like to direct the reader's attention to new work by Native and non-Native scholars that adds much to the thesis of this chapter. For example, recent work by Canadian Native educator Madeline MacIvor, Alaska Native scholar Oscar Kawagley, Hispanic American professor Roberta Barba, and teacher educators Linda Cleary and

Tom Peacock have significantly added to the research base and curricular applications of science and the bicultural learner. In addition, culturally responsive curricula materials are now being produced by school districts, tribally contracted schools, tribal colleges, community colleges, and universities that serve Native American clientele. The popularity among both Native and non-Native educators of "Keepers of the Earth," a series of Native American story-based science curriculum guides by Michael Caduto and Joseph Bruchac, is but one testament to the timely resurgence of cultural relevancy as a factor in teaching and learning science.

Notes

1. Gregory A. Cajete (Santa Clara Pueblo) is an assistant professor in the College of Education at the University of New Mexico. He has taught at the Institute of American Indian Arts in Sante Fe and has lectured nationally and internationally.

2. See Aurbach and Fuchs, *The Status of American Indian Education.*

3. See Anders and Lloyd, "The Significance of Prior Knowledge."

4. See Strum and Purley, "Pueblo Valuing In Transition."

5. Ibid.

6. See O'Malley, *American Indian Education Handbook.*

7. See Ramirez and Castañeda, *Cultural Democracy.*

8. See Pepper, *Understanding Indian Students.*

9. See Cajete, *Look to the Mountain.*

10. See Hvitfeldt, "Traditional Culture."

11. See Lore,"Art as Developmental Theory."

12. See Cajete, *Look to the Mountain* and Kawagley, *A Yupiaq Worldview.*

13. See Cajete, *Science: A Native American Perspective* and Kawagley, *A Yupiaq Worldview.*

14. Ovando and Collier, *Bilingual and ESL Classrooms*, 58-61.

15. Ibid.

16. See Ovando and Collier, *Bilingual and ESL Classrooms.*

17. See Krashen, *Second Language Acquisition.*

18. See Lore, "Art as Developmental Theory."

19. See Kawagley, *A Yupiaq Worldview.*

20. See Pepper, *Understanding Indian Students.*

21. Dunn, "Learning Styles," 5.

22. See Pepper, *Understanding Indian Students*.

23. Ibid., 21.

24. Ibid., 23.

25. Valle, "Cross-Cultural Competence," 30.

26. Barba, *Science in the Multicultural Classroom*, 14.

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Chapter 7

Student Assessment in Indian Education *or* What Is a Roach?

Sandra J. Fox

New performance-based methods of assessing student learning are being developed as part of the education reform movement. These new methods offer educators the opportunity to adopt a system that more fairly and completely assesses what Indian students know and can do. Because successful performance on standardized tests correlates with socioeconomic status and the provision of mainstream experiences, Indian students generally have not done well on them. Performance-based assessment can give Indian children alternative ways to demonstrate their knowledge and skills. According to the National Center for Fair and Open Testing (FairTest),

> Assessment is a process of obtaining information about student learning that can be used to guide a variety of decisions and actions. . . . The primary purpose of assessment is to improve student learning. Teachers assess to learn students' strengths and weaknesses, to understand their interests and how they learn, to figure out how to help each individual and the class as a whole, and to help students think about their own learning, as well as to measure what they have learned and how well they have learned it.

The terms *authentic assessment* and *performance-based assessment* have become increasingly familiar as educators across America explore alternative ways to assess student learning. But understanding the methods and purposes of these new forms of assessment challenges both educators and the general public, partly because the topic is so politically and morally charged. The old paradigm is deeply entrenched. The established process of norm-referenced standardized testing to determine student achievement and school effectiveness has been sacred in America, and it has been deemed politically incorrect to question it. Those who disputed the usefulness of norm-referenced standardized testing of Indian students were discounted as trying to avoid accountability or not caring enough for Indian children to want them to be as competent as others.

But the old paradigm is now being questioned by the education establishment, making this an ideal time for Indian educators to question openly the process of assessment used for Indian children. To paraphrase Sitting Bull, "We must put our minds together and see what we can make for our children." Indian educators must take advantage of this opportunity. They must learn what the general education system proposes for assessment and how it can apply to or be adapted for Indian students so we might finally have a fair and more complete picture of what Indian students can do.

This venture will not be easy. The Indian population, like the general American population, is brainwashed in regard to thinking about testing. It would be easy to stay in old paradigms or fall back to them. The criticism of new methods of assessment is already starting. We must stay the course. We must try new methods of assessment that are being created, including the Learning Record, a system recently adapted by BIA-funded schools, and we must evaluate proposed methods to find the best ways to assess the learning of Indian students.

Why Are New Methods of Assessment Being Developed?

The U.S. Department of Education explains that three phenomena have prodded changes in the assessment process:

1. concern from the business community that students entering the workforce could not produce in real-world workplace situa-

tions and could not solve problems necessary to keep our country competitive in the world economy

2. emergence of the constructivist model of learning, which emphasizes how students learn and the importance of their existing knowledge base, and predicts greater student motivation to learn when learning is based in real-world experiences
3. pressure on educators to be more accountable for student learning as a result of the 1991 report *Indian Nations At Risk*, which promotes "teaching to the tests," even though the tests were actually measuring lower order skills (not the ones required by the business community) and knowledge out of context (not related to the real world).[1]

Further pressure came from reports that students in the United States were not learning as much as students in other countries, emphasizing the need for an assessment system to measure the learning of more difficult content. A review found assessment practices of other countries more performance based. The U.S. government now urges new, more challenging instructional content in America's schools and use of new assessments to measure the learning of that content. At this writing, recipients of federal Goals 2000 or Title I funds have begun implementing new content standards and piloting new assessment systems. All states are required to have performance-based assessment systems in place by the 2000-2001 school year.

Many have long criticized the use of standardized, norm-referenced tests for assessment. In 1997 Peter Sacks summarized research regarding standardized testing in America:

1. *Standardized tests generally have questionable ability to predict academic success.* Even though educators and the general public have been led to believe that standardized tests provide sound measures of students' achievement and schools' success and many decisions are made based on results of those tests, they are often not reliable indicators of what students know or how well students will do in subsequent educational experiences. Teachers often testify that standardized tests don't accurately measure their students' achievement or abilities. Performance on tests such as the SAT, for example, is very poorly

correlated with student success in college. Sacks concludes that high scores on standardized tests only predict high scores on standardized tests.

2. *Standardized test scores tend to be highly correlated with socioeconomic class.* This finding is true across races. Standardized test scores correlate well with the income and education of one's parents.

3. *Standardized tests can reward superficial learning.* Standardized tests assess rote learning of facts and formulas. They are designed to test information that can be put into multiple choice questions for ease of scoring. They cannot test active, critical thinking skills. They cannot test whether someone can truly solve problems or write an essay. Studies of students who scored high on the SAT and a standardized reading exam found that those students acquired information through rote learning. Students who valued learning and literacy activities did not do as well. Schools that continue to use standardized tests are working in opposition to the attempt to teach problem-solving and other thinking skills. Standardized tests drive instruction in undesirable directions and inhibit meaningful educational reform.[3]

FairTest cites two main problems with traditional standardized tests: (1) they fail to measure important learning adequately; and (2) their use encourages classroom practices that fail to provide high-quality education, especially for children from minority groups and low-income families. FairTest goes on to state that the multiple-choice format is incompatible with how people learn. The norm-referencing and bell curve used for standardized testing reinforce the view that instruction will not be effective for certain students and will encourage low expectations. Standardized tests are culture and gender biased. Determining important actions regarding individual students on the basis of one test is misuse with serious implications.

The U.S. Department of Education report *The Inclusion of Students with Disabilities and Limited English Proficient Students in Large-Scale Assessments,* published in 1997, provides guidance on making accommodations and other considerations in the testing of limited-English-proficient (LEP) children. It acknowledges that proficiency in the English language is another factor that affects a student's performance when assessed. This issue must be considered and addressed.

Again, why are new methods of assessment being developed? They are being developed for all of the reasons listed above and will provide new direction for education in this country.

In general, American Indian students have continuously scored low on standardized achievement tests.[5] Educators of Indian students have long believed their students could do more than was revealed by the standardized achievement tests. Until recently, it was not questioned. Many educators of Indian children think the tests are definitely culturally biased and can give examples to support this belief. Dorothy King, who works with Navajo children, documented the following:

> Another item had four pictures: two men in a boat hauling in a net, a Navajo woman seated at a loom weaving with another woman seated at a metate grinding corn some distance away, a woman in a car returning to a house with a man working on the roof, and a girl mowing a lawn while a mailman walks by. The item asked one to identify the picture that shows helping each other do a job. Most of the students said they had wanted to choose all four. In their concept of the world, everyone is always helping each other do whatever job there is, working together for the good of their family and community regardless of whether they are doing diverse tasks or at what distance they are doing them.[6]

A standardized test is probably a good measure of one's acculturation into mainstream society. The fact that successful test performance correlates with socioeconomic status indicates that Indian children are at a definite disadvantage. Most Indian children have been included in large-scale standardized testing without accommodations for limited English proficiency, even though many are LEP students, whether identified as such or not.

What Is Performance-Based Assessment?

Assess comes from Latin meaning "to sit beside." This implies a teacher sits beside students and watches them do their work or talks with them. Assessment is a good thing meant to help students.

In performance assessment, students construct, rather than select, responses. Students may write, give a speech, solve a problem, or do a project to show what they know. Teachers observe student behavior on those tasks and systematically record information about the student's learning gained from the observation. Teachers are able to see patterns in students' learning and thinking. This method of assessment is ongoing, built as a part of the instructional process. It also drives the instructional process. Students are well prepared for what is expected of them and understand criteria that will be used in assessment. Rubrics explain how tasks will be assessed by defining exemplary, competent, minimal, or inadequate performance (or other delineations such as advanced, proficient, and partially proficient, as required by the Department of Education).

Portfolios are collections of student work representing various performances. Portfolios are derived from the visual and performing arts tradition that showcases artists' accomplishments. A systematic gathering of performances can provide a reliable assessment system. Performance-based assessment is not completed in one sitting on one day. Many performances are taken into account before determinations are made about one's achievement. This also alleviates problems that can arise if a student is absent on the day of testing. Assessment and instruction are merged, improving both.

Performance-based assessment is designed to assess the learning of content found in the emerging, more challenging content standards that promote critical thinking. Performance assessment is often termed *authentic* assessment because it promotes the demonstration of applied knowledge and the performance of tasks of the real world.

Performance-based assessment allows students to be involved in assessing their own progress. It also allows parents to be involved in assessing the progress of their children and to provide information about the child's application of knowledge at home. Performance-based assessments shed light on students' understanding of a problem, involvement with the problem, approach to solving the problem, and ability to express themselves.

The main criticisms of performance-based assessment are the possibilities of lack of reliability (e.g., different people might assess individual performances differently), validity (e.g., particular performances may not be good indicators of specific content knowledge), and lack of access to data used to compare students and groups of students (as was provided by norm-referenced tests). These concerns are being addressed, and some interesting solutions are taking shape, as will be described later in this chapter.

American Indian people have historically used performance-based assessment to evaluate the skills and abilities of the young and to determine their readiness for taking on various duties in the tribes. Performance assessment is alive and well in tribal systems today. Contemporary examples include powwow dance competitions, sports competitions, art contests, and some tribal princess contests that require contestants to speak the Native language, prepare Native foods, and so forth.

Performance-based assessment examines student performance on specific tasks that are important for life. Those tasks can be determined at the local level, providing relevance to the assessment system. Performance-based assessment can take place in a child's Native language, a situation in which a student's language and culture would count as a strength.

Performance-based assessment may, at last, provide the first fair indication of what Indian children know and can do. Schools serving Indian students—particularly the schools funded by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA)—are delving into performance assessment. A system known as the Learning Record is being adapted for Indian children in those schools.

What Is the Learning Record System?

The Learning Record is a performance-based assessment system that provides teachers with a structured method of tracking students' academic development and planning instruction to meet students' needs. It has evolved from the Primary Language Record, first developed and used in Great Britain. The Record was adapted for use in California as the *California Learning Record*.[2]

The Learning Record provides common forms and procedures for recording and summarizing information based on selected assessment indicators that provide multiple viewpoints and common performance standards of achievement (rubrics), called scales. The Learning Record summarizes evidence from a variety of student work and activities to assess student achievement in the contexts of the classroom and the home. It builds on what students from ethnically and linguistically diverse backgrounds know and can do and provides a system to ensure more valid and equitable assessment results.

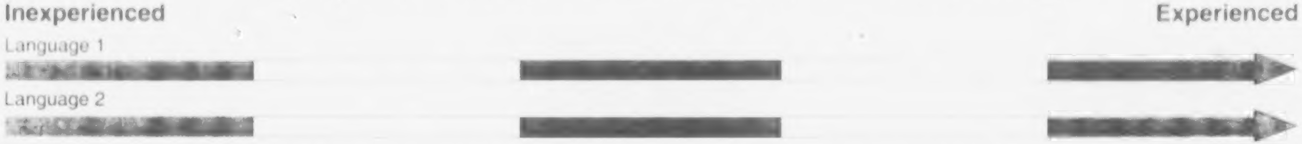
All schools receiving Title I funds must utilize a new form of assessment starting in the 2000-2001 school year. BIA schools can choose the new performance-based assessment system of the state in which they are located or the Learning Record, adapted for use by BIA schools. At this writing, staff from 34 schools are being trained to pilot this system at their schools.

The Learning Record system has undergone 10 years of research and development throughout California, the last four at the Center for Language in Learning, a not-for-profit organization in El Cajon. By June 1994 the system had been tested in small-scale studies so it could be phased in by schools, including Chapter I program schools, as an alternative to or in conjunction with norm-referenced, standardized testing. The Center for Language in Learning continues to conduct research on implementation of the Learning Record.

The Learning Record system of assessment is standards referenced, based on the content to be learned, as specified in the new standards and on standards of performance described in scales. (See example of reading scales on page 169.) Standards-referenced assessment requires an analysis of performance in various settings and from multiple perspectives and relies on various indicators and information from people who are important in the child's educational process. (See page 170 for a diagram of the multiple perspectives used in the Learning Record process.) Notice that standardized tests can be *one* of the indicators for schools and teachers who still feel that such testing is important. Examples of student work and other documentation provide evidence that individual students have either met or not met the standards. Use of the Learning Record requires extensive staff development. Teachers learn what various pieces of documentation indicate about student learning and how these data can be summarized to determine students' achievement levels.

A *moderation process* is unique to the Learning Record model of assessment. Moderation readings of student records ensure the quality, consistency, equity, and reliability of teacher assessments. A first

Reading Scale 2, Grades 4-8: Becoming Experienced in Reading



1 - Inexperienced

Experience as a reader has been limited. Generally chooses to read a very easy and familiar text where illustrations play an important part. Has difficulty with any unfamiliar materials and yet may be able to read own dictated texts confidently. Needs a great deal of support with the reading demands of the classroom. Overdependent on one strategy when reading aloud, often reads word by word. Rarely chooses to read for pleasure.

2 - Less experienced

Developing fluency as a reader and reading certain kinds of material with confidence. Usually chooses short books with simple narrative shapes and illustrations. May read these silently, often re-reads favorite books. Reading for pleasure often includes comics and magazines. Needs help with the reading demands of the classroom and especially with using reference and information books.

3 - Moderately experienced

A confident reader who feels at home with books. Generally reads silently and is developing stamina as a reader. Is able to read for longer periods and cope with more demanding texts, including novels. Willing to reflect on reading and often uses reading in own learning. Selects books independently and can use information books and materials for straightforward reference purposes, but still needs help with unfamiliar material, particularly non-narrative prose.

PARTIALLY PROFICIENT

4 - Experienced

A self-motivated, confident and experienced reader who may be pursuing particular interests through reading. Capable of tackling some demanding texts and can cope well with the reading of the curriculum. Reads thoughtfully and appreciates shades of meaning. Capable of locating and drawing on a variety of sources in order to research a topic independently.

PROFICIENT

5 - Exceptionally experienced

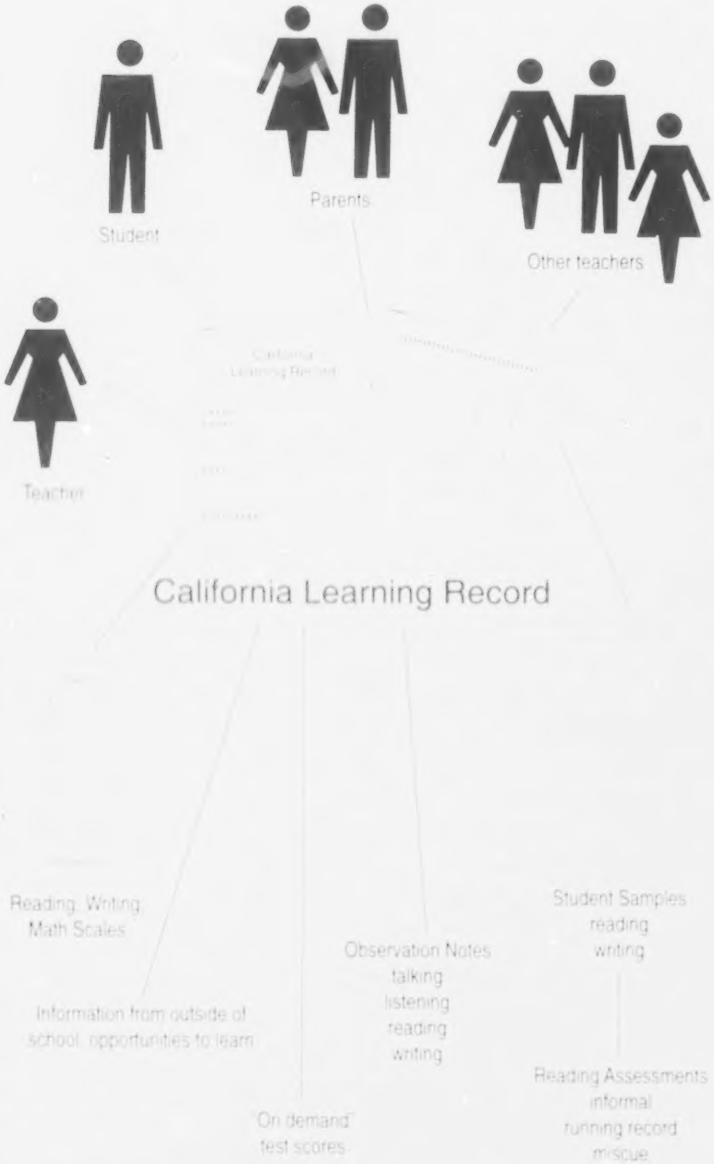
An enthusiastic and reflective reader who has strong established tastes in fiction and non-fiction. Enjoys pursuing own reading interests independently. Can handle a wide range and variety of texts, including some adult material. Recognizes that different kinds of text require different styles of reading. Able to evaluate evidence drawn from a variety of information sources. Is developing critical awareness as a reader.

ADVANCED

This scale has been adapted with permission for use in the California Learning Record assessment system with funding provided by the California Department of Education. Originally developed and copyrighted by the Centre for Language in Primary Education, Webber Row, London SE8QW, the scale appears in the *Primary Language Handbook for Teachers*, which is distributed in the U.S. by Heinemann Educational Books.

The Multidimensional CLR

Multiple Viewpoints



Student

Parents

Other teachers

Teacher

California Learning Record

Reading, Writing,
Math Scales

Information from outside of
school, opportunities to learn

"On demand"
test scores

Observation Notes
talking
listening
reading
writing

Student Samples
reading
writing

Reading Assessments
informal
running record
miscue

round of moderation readings is held at the school's own site among teachers who are keeping Learning Records. Participants read in pairs a sampling of the completed records and student work without seeing the originating teachers' judgments. Looking at the evidence, they judge a student's performance according to the performance standards scale. The process is repeated at *inter-site* readings, conducted by teachers from other schools using Learning Records. Altogether, this makes three evaluations of student progress: original evaluation by the teacher, evaluation by a pair of readers from the same school (based on documentation of the teacher's evaluation), and evaluation by a pair of readers from another school at the regional inter-site. If there is a difference among judgments by the readers, other readers highly experienced in using the Learning Record make a final determination. The Center for Language in Learning reports annually to each participating school on the consistency—and therefore trustworthiness—of teacher, site, and inter-site judgments. For schools using the Learning Record schoolwide or with an identified target population, the center also reports on individual student achievement at each K-12 grade level.

The Learning Record summarizes information about student learning to be used with students of different ethnic backgrounds and students with disabilities. It is endorsed by FairTest. The Learning Record requires observation and documentation in assessing not only what children *know* but *how* they learn. The assessment for each child requires active involvement of many teachers, parents, and the student. The process can be used for all grade levels. It can be used to summarize information about reading, language arts, and mathematics for Title I requirements and to evaluate student language and mathematics abilities in languages other than English.

The Department of Education approved the BIA's state plan to use the Learning Record as its new method of assessment because of the moderation process and studies that have shown it to be a valid and reliable way of assessing student learning. A Learning Record (Language Record) system is also being used with a multiethnic population in New York City. Beverly Falk and Linda Darling-Hammond of the National Center for Restructuring Education, Schools and Teaching list the major principles of the system in New York City as "encouraging meaningful parent involvement, respecting each family's linguistic and cultural background, recognizing that children come to school with prior knowledge and experience, looking at children individually and noting their growth rather than comparing them with other children, and respecting teacher knowledge and professionalism."[9]

Resulting implications of the Learning Record for Indian students can be great. The system includes many of the ingredients Indian educators have called for in an educational process suitable for Indian students. Indian educators should watch the progress of the implementation of the Learning Record with great interest. At present, we are gaining insight into the ramifications of its use by reading what teachers participating in the Learning Record training have to say (see box).

Comments of Participants in Learning Record Training

"I am proud to be a part of this needed change in education."

"I am very impressed with the new method of assessing our children [Native Americans]. We've been seeking such an assessment."

"Thank you for giving me a system/means to note my observations and progress of the students I teach. It will be put to good use."

"This is such a neat way to find out what your kids know—*not* what they don't know, and it gives you a wonderful insight into your students as human beings!"

"Retrieving information from the student and parents to form a database will provide a better understanding of the student."

"I believe the Learning Record will benefit my teaching abilities and increase our parents' commitment to our school, its teachers, and most importantly our students' success."

"*Finally*, an assessment tool which will work instead of culturally or socially biased tests. Also, putting the sharing of the educational experience with parents and students is excellent."

"It was exciting how it all fit together and we were able to get quite an overview of our student!"

"I have become very excited about the Learning Record and its potential for *all* students. I feel very privileged to be in a position that can have such a professional effect on our children's education."

"It seems like common sense to me and simplifies my ideas about portfolios."

"I feel this is a good way of assessing our children, and you have planned it out so everyone doesn't feel pressured by something new."

"I believe in 'asking the child'—this will provide a tool for accountability."

What Should We Be Questioning Further?

Despite the fact that performance-based assessment, and the Learning Record in particular, appears to offer a real breakthrough for Indian education, our work in this area must continue. Indian educators are calling into question many aspects of the educational process. Some of the questions educators commonly ask about assessment are discussed in this section.

Oratory or reading skills? In performance-based assessments, one indicator of success might be the number of books read. In the Indian world, reading a lot of books is not highly prized. For Indian people, more credence is given to the skill of oratory. Is oratory not a worthy process? Is it not related to reading? Given that assessment drives instruction, is it not wise to give more weight to a skill, such as oral language, that tribal members have long recognized as needing more emphasis in Indian education? Should this not be taken into consideration when framing the assessment of Indian students?

What about content? The whole matter of content for Indian students needs to be examined carefully. While the process of performance-based assessment holds great potential, it still could promote cultural bias or emphasize learning that is not important to Indian people, thereby putting us back where we started. This brings us to the main question: What do we want Indian students to learn? For example, the BIA has adapted national content standards to include aspects of Indian culture. If this cultural information is important, the learning of it must be assessed. What should Indian students know and be able to do when they leave school?

How do language and experience factor in? What about the fact that assessment of reading is in large part the assessment of one's knowledge of and experience with the topic of the material being read? It is also the assessment of one's English vocabulary. Yet, one's reading *ability* is firmly determined (judged) by an English reading assessment. How can we say that Indian students cannot read as well as other students as indicated by standardized tests and national norms? It brings to mind the story of one of the chiefs of the Iroquois Confederacy saying he would send young men to the schools of the White settlers as long as they sent some of their young men to live with and learn from his tribe. How well would non-Indian children do if they had to read something from the

Indian world for which they had no reference? For example, if an Indian story referred to someone wearing a *roach*, the non-Indian student might assume the author meant an insect when, in fact, the text referred to a headdress made of deer tail and porcupine hair that is worn by male Indian dancers at powwows. The experience one brings to the assessment situation is of utmost importance. If Indian students are expected to read and understand materials, they must be given the cultural experiences that relate to those materials. But is that really what we want? Does that require Indian students to learn things that are really not important to them? Again, Indian communities must decide what their children should know and be able to do and then assess student learning within that body of knowledge and skills.

In many Native languages, a single word may have meaning that may take a paragraph to explain in English or that cannot be explained at all, or certain linguistic patterns may suggest entirely different meanings from those expressed in English. How then do Native speakers process English? What implications does that have for assessment? We must question, question, question.

Leaders in the Assessment Process

We are just on the brink of improving the education of Indian children. This is the result of new assessment processes and new insights into what should be learned and how it might be learned better. We need to work very closely with our communities to make sure full advantage is taken of this opportunity. Indian educators must become very interested in the new assessment process and its implications. They must ask questions that may affect the teaching and learning of Indian children.

An Indian educator who has taken a special interest in the assessment process is Roger Bordeaux:

> Standardized norm-referenced testing is no longer universally accepted as the one best measure for determining learner success. Although some American Indian/Alaska Native students have shown academic success in this type of testing, the continued exclusive use of norm-referenced assessments could shortchange many AI/AN learners. One caution, however, for those involved in developing alternative assessment measures: The

> effort to improve cultural relevance of curriculum and assessment must be guided by all stakeholders, including parents and other tribal community members.[10]

The teaching and learning process for American Indian/Alaska Native learners will improve as curricula and assessment become more culturally relevant. Culturally relevant performance assessment can help schools see language and culture as integral parts of a total curriculum. According to Elise Trumbull Estrin and Sharon Nelson-Barber of the Far West Laboratory,

> Many Native students are thriving in programs that are based on culturally responsive curriculum, instruction and assessment. And—fortuitously—the current climate of reform provides all of us an opportunity to reexamine old assumptions and develop new bases of knowledge from which to re-create instruction and assessment.[11]

We must revisit the works of Karen Swisher and colleagues whose special interest has been assessing the learning styles of Indian students.[12] We must reread the work of Richard Nichols,[13] who concludes the practice of standardized testing has been hurtful to American Indians and encourages educators to rely more heavily on measures of attitude and skill mastery and to utilize student portfolios. We must not forget the early questioners Dean Chavers and Patricia Locke, who wrote "The Effects of Testing on Native Americans" for the National Commission on Testing and Public Policy in 1989.

Finally we must not forget that Indian people had a way to assess the learning of their children long ago. It was performance-based assessment.

Epilogue

The BIA has adopted the Learning Record as its new assessment system. BIA-funded schools have the option to utilize the new assessment systems of the states in which they are located or the Learning Record. Teachers from 34 schools are currently involved in extensive professional development activities to build leadership capacity among schools choosing to use the Learning Record.

Other information from the reauthorization of the *Individuals* *with Disabilities Education Act* indicates a need for performance-based assessment to better meet the needs of students with disabilities, thus strengthening the requirement for such assessment practice. BIA-funded schools, as well as other schools, must provide for fair testing of this population.

The *California Learning Record* was to be one model for the classroom assessment part of a new, three-part California assessment system. (To learn more about how that assessment system fell to defeat before it could be fully implemented, read Crispeels' "Educational Policy Implementation in a Shifting Political Climate: The California Experience.") The since-renamed Learning Record Assessment System has been developed to provide a classroom assessment that can be used to inform teaching and learning as well as to serve public accountability purposes.

A three-year phase-in plan has been designed to help school staffs implement the Learning Record in BIA schools. To follow progress, contact a School Reform Team Leader, Office of Indian Education Programs, Mail Stop 3512, 1849 C Street NW, Washington, DC 20240, or visit the Learning Record Web site maintained by the Center for Language in Learning: http://www.learningrecord/lrorg.

Notes

1. Sandra J. Fox (Ogala Lakota) has worked for the Bureau of Indian Affairs as a teacher, education specialist, and team leader.

2. FairTest, *Implementing Performance Assessments*, 3.

3. See U.S. Department of Education, *Assessment of Student Performance*.

4. Sacks, "Standardized Testing," 24-31.

5. See Indian Nations At Risk Task Force, *Indian Nations At Risk*.

6. King, *Standardization vs. Learners*, 6.

7. See Bordeaux, *Assessment for American Indian and Alaska Native Learners*.

8. See Barr, *California Learning Record*.

9. Falk and Darling-Hammond, *The Primary Language Record at P.S. 261*, 8.

10. Bordeaux, *Assessment for American Indian and Alaska Native Learners*, 2.

11. Estrin and Nelson-Barber, *Issues in Cross-Cultural Assessment*, 7.

12. For more about the learning styles of Indian students, see Swisher and Deyhle, "Styles of Learning and Learning of Styles" and Swisher, "American Indian Learning Styles Survey."

13. See Nichols, *Continuous Evaluation of Native Education Programs.*

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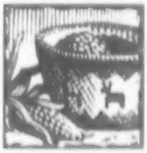
CHAPTER 8



Effective Counseling with American Indian Students

DEBORAH WETSIT[1]

American Indians and Alaska Natives are the Indigenous people of this country; yet they remain among the smallest ethnic groups in the United States. Despite interaction with the dominant European American culture for more than 500 years, American Indians continue to maintain their own culturally distinct worldviews. Broadly defined, counseling has always been a part of American Indian cultures, practiced in ways deemed appropriate to respective worldviews. Professional counselors responsible for meeting the needs of American Indian students must find ways to address a variety of contexts effectively. Counseling, as practiced today, is heavily influenced by European American cultural values and practices. To counsel American Indian students effectively, the profession needs to include authentic forms of counseling that are congruent with American Indian cultures.

Role of Counseling

The field of counseling is reportedly growing in both size and scope.[2] In general, counseling is viewed as a means of helping individuals, groups, and families solve problems and reach their developmental potential as human beings. A number of theories guide professional counselors, ranging from individual to family systems orientations and from nondirective, person-centered to directive, cognitive-behavioral orientations. Counseling has its origins in education and normative developmental work with people, whereas psychology and psychiatry are oriented more toward the diagnosis and treatment of pathology.

According to the American School Counselor Association, school counseling specifically provides

> Direct services to students, staff and community to facilitate self-understanding, interpersonal relationships, problem-solving and decision-making skills and responsibility in educational, career and avocational development.[2]

Further, school counselors focus upon preventive activities to address situations before they cause problems. Counselors conduct these activities in a variety of settings: counseling contexts (e.g., individual, group, family), classrooms (e.g., instruction, curriculum development, teacher consultation), and community (e.g., disseminating education literature, organizing community forums). School counselors work with students and families through remediation activities and intervention. Other observers point out that the school counselor, while assisting students with social and personal development, has taken on the role of transmitter and developer of multicultural awareness.[3]

Within American Indian cultures, counseling has always played an important role. For example, traditional Native healers have strived to meet the counseling needs of the community and individual. These traditional activities may not be recognized by European American observers as counseling due to differences in approach and process; yet the intent of providing help to individuals, families, or groups is the same. Carolyn Attneave points out that, even today, the presence and responsibilities of traditional healers remain hidden to non-Native counselors. She attributes this hidden existence to the long history of persecution and superstition of European American society. However, counseling persists within Native cultures.[4]

American Indian Students

History. The identity of any group of people is rooted in its history. Joseph E. Trimble and C. Fleming point out that knowing the history of American Indian communities is *essential* to counseling American Indian people effectively. Native people have a history that extends long before their contact with Europeans. However, with regard to cross-cultural understanding between Indians and non-Indians, history began with the first contact between the Europeans who came to this country and the Native people who have always lived here. The relationship between Europeans and American Indians has been rife with misunderstanding from the beginning.[6]

Many European Americans believed it was their destiny and God's plan for them to live here and use the land as they thought best. This concept of *manifest destiny* completely disregarded the Native people who already lived on the land. Contact with previously unknown European diseases decimated the population of Native people. Missionaries sought to convert Native people to Christianity by turning them away from and denigrating Native spiritual beliefs. As interaction between European Americans and Native people increased, the federal government implemented a policy of removing Native people, particularly children, from their cultures. Often this meant not only removing them from their homes but relocating them as far from their homes as possible.

Boarding schools such as Haskell in Lawrence, Kansas, and Carlisle in Pennsylvania taught young Native children about European American culture. The boarding school system implanted negative messages about students' own cultures by forbidding Native languages to be spoken, discouraging contact with families, and teaching a curriculum based exclusively on European American culture. The military model upon which these boarding schools were based did not provide positive, nurturing examples of authority figures nor did it employ positive methods of discipline. The school environment contrasted harshly with the homes from which children as young as five years old had been removed. Native parents were viewed as obstructions to the education of their children. The basic premise of this education system was to remove the *Indian* from the person, instilling instead the values, practices, and beliefs of European American culture. Vestiges of this philosophy continue today.

Current status. Statistically American Indians are an exceptionally young population. The U.S. Bureau of the Census reports the American Indian population increased 38 percent between 1980 and 1990 with a median age of 26, as compared to the overall U.S. median age of 33. American Indian school enrollment was expected to increase by 29 percent between 1985 and 1995. Because a significant portion of this population is, or will be, of childbearing age, continued population growth is anticipated. The number of American Indian students in the formal education system will continue to increase, as will the need to address the counseling demands and concerns of this population.

Acculturation. Acculturation is the extent to which an American Indian (or any person from another culture) identifies with the attitudes, behaviors, and values of the dominant culture and vice versa. The mere existence of other cultures increases the potential for and level of acculturation for all people. For American Indians, who have had European American culture imposed upon them, the question is not whether they have acculturated but to what degree. It is also important to acknowledge that cultures, even traditional Native cultures, are never stagnant. This is evidenced by the incorporation of tools or products provided by European American culture in even the most sacred American Indian ceremonies.

Further, the extensive variations among American Indian tribal cultures must be recognized. There are 308 federally recognized tribes in the United States. These tribes can differ amongst one another as much as the English and Italians or the Spanish and Turks differ. Tribes differ in many ways, including languages, beliefs, expectations, gender roles, customs, and ceremonies. Often this cultural diversity within American Indian populations is overlooked by European Americans, many of whom believe in what T. C. Thomason refers to as the "myth of homogeneity."

In addition to using boarding schools for assimilation, the federal government sponsored relocation programs to move tribal citizens to urban areas. Although many participants of the relocation programs returned to their reservation communities, a number of American Indians remained in the cities. Today a limited reservation land base and high unemployment on reservations also pressure tribal members to move to urban areas. This urban migration is predicted to continue increasing. According to a 1990 census report, 62 percent of American Indians live away from their tribal land bases; therefore, simply living away from the reservation does not mean counselors will not encounter American Indians. Counselors must take care to ascertain the presence of Native students in mainstream schools and not assume erroneously that none attend their school just because they are in an urban setting. Nor can it be assumed that Native students attending an urban school have lost their cultural identities.[9]

Teresa Davis LaFromboise and Kathryn Graff Low point out that "as Indian youth enter school, they often feel stranded between two cultures. Many of them speak an entirely different first language, practice an entirely different religion, and hold different cultural values than the dominant culture."[10] Counselors need to recognize American Indian students experience different levels of acculturation and that they are expected to function in a school system based upon European American culture. Typically the curriculum reflects little American Indian history or culture, and that which is included is from the European American perspective.

Cross-Cultural Counseling

Since the early 1970s professional awareness of cultural factors and their relevance to the counseling process has increased.[11] This awareness includes a growing realization that expectations for counselor and client roles have been influenced almost exclusively by Western European models and worldviews. While these models have proven effective in working with members of European American society, they have been less effective with other ethnicities. Counselors need to remember that American Indians and other ethnic minorities are socialized to interpret their experiences in the world much differently than the majority culture.

Cultural identity. The vast majority of American Indians has little desire to assimilate into European American culture. The sense of cultural and tribal belonging experienced by American Indians is an extremely important aspect of their identity. Jean S. Phinney and Mary Jane Rotheram define ethnic identity as "one's sense of belonging to an ethnic group and the part of one's thinking, perceptions, feelings, and behavior that is due to ethnic group membership." Some believe this sense of identity begins by age three or four; others believe that even infants can recognize strangers of a different ethnic group. School counselors need to recognize the role of ethnic identity in the development of self-esteem and self-concept. Studies frequently cite the impact of low self-esteem and poor self-concept on dysfunctional behaviors with American Indian students.[illegible]

Frances Aboud reports that only 15 percent of the studies she reviewed indicate that American Indian children show a preference for their own ethnic group. Native children express a strong preference for European American culture until at least middle childhood. This preference comes at the expense of developing positive attitudes about their own cultural groups. In contrast, Aboud says, "White children typically hold negative attitudes toward other groups from 4 years of age."[illegible] These findings carry an important message. School counselors must assist teachers, administrators, and students (both Native and non-Native) to develop positive self-esteem and positive cultural self-concepts in students. In addition, all children must be taught to value other cultures. Because the development of cultural identity and attitudes about other cultural groups begins at such an early age, counselors must prepare schools to address these issues from the student's first day of enrollment. People tend to avoid dissimilar groups, and Aboud suggests children react more intensely to dissimilarities because they lack the ability to reconcile different ethnic preferences and reach the conclusion that it is all right for people to be different. School counselors aware of this situation need to work with teachers and other school personnel prior to enrollment and develop strategies to assist children in valuing ethnic and cultural differences.

Cultural differences. Many people believe that all values are present in all cultures; however, the priority or emphasis placed on each respective value can vary. For example, a sense of family is valued by all cultures, cultures differ over the degree to which involvement with family takes precedence over other values (e.g., employment, recreation). Individuals or groups within a culture may also place greater emphasis on one particular value than generally prescribed by the rest of society. It is important to acknowledge this to avoid oversimplifying this discussion.

Values can be described as social guideposts indicating cultural norms for appropriate behavior and revealing what is important, what is expected, and what is desired by a particular society. Their deep-seated nature renders values so much a part of the background they seem almost invisible until confronted with a clashing value. So much of what we consider universal is very culture specific.[14]

American Indian students are likely to subscribe to some distinctly different values from non-Native counselors, especially those students more grounded in their respective Native cultures. Since the counseling setting relies on effective communication and the counselor's ability to "inner-view" the client, the opportunity for misunderstanding heightens when values differ. Behaviors of American Indian students can easily be misinterpreted if the counselor is unaware of such differences. For example, Trimble observes, "Many young Indians are not socialized to expound on inner thoughts and feelings. Thus, reliance on a client's ability to achieve insight would be a mistake."[15]

One of the primary values taught by the formal education system is time management. Teachers and administrators expect students to arrive at school prior to the beginning of classes, turn in all assignments according to a schedule, and think in terms of future orientation. Students receive penalties if they are tardy or if they think and act only in terms of the present. This creates a dichotomy because Native cultures emphasize a natural order of the world in which events happen when they are supposed to happen. For instance, Native ceremonies begin when all have arrived who need or are expected to be there. Contrast this with a mainstream church service or school function that begins punctually at the appointed hour and minute. Native cultures are rooted in the past, and careful attention is paid to the historical nature and ancestral meaning of events and relationships. School counselors must assist schools and Native students in recognizing this difference and find ways to minimize the negative impact on students. Johanna Nel suggests emphasizing to Native students the need to show respect for the teacher by being punctual. But it is also important for counselors to educate teachers and administrators to acknowledge this difference by exercising leniency in their policies.[16]

A second European American value reflected in schools is completion of tasks, or goal orientation. Great importance is placed on accomplishing tasks or mastering skills to reach specific goals within a prescribed time frame. For example, all students are expected to demonstrate mastery of certain mathematical skills by third grade. While this value has fostered many achievements, it often conflicts with Native cultures, which place greater emphasis upon relationships. School counselors aware of this value difference will be able to assist schools and students when it creates conflicts. For example, when faced with the choice between completing a homework assignment or visiting with friends or relatives who stop by, Native culture values the relationship with the guests above other tasks. Counselors need to work with teachers, parents, and students to resolve these types of conflicts, most likely on a case-by-case basis.

A third value that often creates conflict in schools relates to group versus individual accomplishments. European American culture places great emphasis on individual accomplishments. Classroom environments reinforce this value by encouraging students to compete with one another to determine which student is the best, via spelling bees, attendance charts, gold stars, letter grades, and so forth. Native cultures value group accomplishments more highly, working together for the common good. Counselors can assist teachers in recognizing the potential for and minimizing value conflict. Phinney and Rotheram report studies of success where multiethnic teams have worked together to complete class assignments in which interdependence is required. A technique recommended in their studies is the "jigsaw" method, which requires interdependence among students, each of whom must learn part of an assignment and teach it to the other group members.[17]

Conflict often arises in school settings over a fourth value, family orientation. Counselors, in particular, need to attain a clear understanding of the value many Native people place on family. European American culture emphasizes the concept of the nuclear family, which consists primarily of a mother, father, and children. Parents are primary care providers and are held responsible for their children's actions, including their accomplishments and mistakes. Laws embodying the European American culture require children to have parental consent until the ages of 16, 18, or 21 depending upon the issue and state of residence.

Within most, if not all, traditional American Indian cultural contexts, the family is far more extended, including grandparents, aunts (who may have the same authority as a child's biological mother), uncles (who may have a role similar to a child's biological father), great-aunts (frequently considered grandmothers), great uncles (frequently considered grandfathers), and cousins (first cousins may have the same role as a child's sibling and thus be considered brothers and sisters). Native family systems also incorporate biologically unrelated family members. For example, one can designate a woman as a sister, and that person will be considered a relative by other family members. This person may be referred to as "my sister, Indian way." These informal adoptees need to be recognized as family members. Whereas the specific nature of such relationships can be confusing to an inexperienced counselor, it is important to realize that it is the *perception* of a relationship that is significant.[18]

The family is of such importance in Native cultures that it is expected to take priority over other values such as recreation, school, or even employment, depending upon the situation. If a student is needed at home to help a sick family member, that takes priority. If a family member is hospitalized, the whole family may stand vigil until they are assured the person is in full recovery. Counselors must recognize the strength of this value and the implications within the school setting in working with American Indian students and families.

This extended family network has other implications in working with American Indian students, adding complexity to identifying a student's primary caretaker. While American Indian families are subject to laws that hold biological parents responsible for their children, from a Native perspective, such responsibility may be shared. The child is the responsibility of the family; thus, a grandparent, aunt, or older sibling may be the primary caretaker. Consequently counselors must be able to identify which members of the family need to be included when working with American Indian students. The perceived relationship among the extended family members is more important than the biological connection.

Most literature on counseling American Indians describes these differences between Native and European American cultural values plus several others, including *sharing* versus *materialism, being* versus *doing, harmony with nature* versus *mastery over nature,* *tradition* versus *technology and progress*, *humility* versus *arrogance*, and *reverence for elders*. The ability to recognize these value differences and their deep underlying significance is extremely important for effective cross-cultural counseling. Without this awareness and understanding, counselors will not recognize the meaning of students' behaviors resulting from such values. This lack of understanding can contribute to resistance to counseling processes such as self-disclosure.

While American Indians share many commonalities in their history and general value orientations, it is important to remember there are tribal differences. Tribal specific knowledge cannot be transported from one tribe to another. For example, firsthand knowledge about the Navajo culture cannot be transferred to the Lakota of South Dakota without significant modification. However, a general orientation can provide a foundation from which to build more tribally specific knowledge.

Cross-cultural competencies. Derald W. Sue and colleagues identify three areas of competence that a culturally skilled psychologist must possess, which also holds true for related disciplines such as school counseling. These areas include (1) awareness of diversity in beliefs and attitudes (e.g., need to move from being unaware to being aware of personal and other cultural values), (2) knowledge (e.g., need to understand the U.S. sociopolitical system and its impact on other cultural groups), and (3) skills (e.g., ability to interpret and respond to a wide range of verbal and nonverbal communication). Other observers have built on these observations, pointing out the need for counselors to use these competencies in working specifically with American Indians. Cultural knowledge can enable different interpretations of behavioral patterns. For example, Lakota people accept the behavior of "pouting," which allows an individual to go off alone for a time to reflect on his or her own behavior and the behavior of others. If a counselor lacks cultural awareness, knowledge, and skills, he or she might interfere with a behavior that has a function within this tribal context.

Effective Counseling Strategies

Establishing trust and rapport. The community's perception of the counseling profession is important. Barbetta Lockhart notes

American Indian populations hold a historical mistrust of mainstream systems. This mistrust can extend to institutions responsible for counseling services and the counselors whom they have trained. Counseling services for American Indians have been provided primarily by public schools, Indian Health Services, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs, with the vast majority of counselors being of European American descent. LaFromboise and Low remind us that American Indians tend to look first to their extended family to solve problems rather than conventional counseling services, so families need to be included in successful interventions.

Counselors need to recognize and address cultural mistrust at the individual, school, and general system levels. Researchers have found that mistrust of European Americans is a major obstacle in delivery of cross-cultural mental health services and that American Indians seldom look to typical mainstream counseling to improve their lives. It is evident that using these services depends to a great extent on the reputation of past and current counseling programs and the professionals themselves. For example, if the previous school counselor had been well respected in the community, people would anticipate the same types of experiences. If, on the other hand, people have had negative experiences, the next counselor would face the difficult challenge of establishing trust.

Because establishing trust is so essential to the success of counseling relationships, counselors need to know how to go about it in Native communities. A counselor new to the community is an outsider and can expect a high degree of scrutiny by the community. This begins from the moment of first contact with an American Indian community. For example, one counselor recently employed in an American Indian community was approached by a woman she had not previously met. The counselor was shocked to find out that the woman already knew not only that she was a counselor but also what kind of vehicle she drove, her marital status, and other personal information. American Indian reservation communities are quick to share information about anyone who is new to their area, and counselors are not immune from this type of scrutiny. While it is common for clients to make judgments about their counselors, this is especially true in cross-cultural situations. Clients begin sizing up counselors at the point of initial contact by keenly observing the way in which they are greeted, the counselor's manner of dress, the setting for the session, the manner of introduction (e.g., use of formal title or first name), physical appearance, ethnicity, and so forth. Lockhart cautions that counselors are watched very closely for inconsistencies and incongruencies.[24]

Clear, effective communication is essential for establishing trust and rapport with any client and especially important in cross-cultural settings where communication can be so easily misinterpreted. Geraldine Youngman and Margaret Sadongei recommend approaching the initial session very slowly to allow the student to unfold at his or her own pace. Counselors are also cautioned that the student likely will find self-disclosure inconsistent with tribal traditions. Trimble reports that "many young Indians are not socialized to expound on inner thoughts and feelings." In many Native cultures, the counselor (in traditional cultural terms) is assigned the role of expert. The client presents the problem, whereby it is the responsibility of the healer (e.g., counselor) to diagnose the problem and provide a solution. Direct questioning also may not be acceptable within the American Indian student's culture. Counselors are advised not to push for self-disclosure but to ask students for help in defining the problem in hopes this will foster trust and rapport early in the relationship. Without self-disclosure, counselors must learn to observe carefully and rely on nonverbal communication clues rather than verbal indicators. Thomason recommends the use of humor, self-disclosure by the counselor, and warmth to establish trust.[25]

In greeting an American Indian student, it is important to acknowledge the student's tribal affiliation. The sense of tribal identity can be very important to a more traditional person. This is especially true if more than one tribe is represented in the school population. Equally important is the identification of the student's family system. This can be accomplished by telling the student which family members are known by the counselor based on his or her knowledge of the community (e.g., "Is Henry Standing Elk your cousin?" "Are you related to Molly Begay, who works at the store?") The manner in which this is acknowledged depends upon the counselor's assessment of the client's level of acculturation.

The first contact may need to be formal enough that the student knows he or she is being counseled. Thomason recommends counselors take a gentle, noninvasive approach to create an atmosphere of acceptance in which the American Indian student feels comfortable. He also recommends counselors avoid direct questioning.[illegible]

Counseling styles. There is little agreement about which style of counseling is best for American Indian clients. A study involving 50 University of Oklahoma students, half of whom identified themselves as American Indian and half as non-Indian, tested an experimental communication style against a directive style. Experimental style communication was characterized by responses that emphasized approval/reassurance and self-disclosure while avoiding open-ended questions. A directive style of communication was characterized by a high reliance on direct guidance and open question responses while de-emphasizing self-disclosure. The researchers found that American Indian college students prefer experimental counselor communication, while a directive style is preferred by non-Indian students. However, other research advises against using a nondirective (client-centered) counseling approach with American Indians. Alonzo Spang suggests an eclectic or directive counseling approach, which is most effective when based upon the counselor's knowledge of the American Indian culture. LaFromboise and colleagues point out that many Native clients expect a different approach from that used in traditional therapy. These researchers found that Indian adolescents hope the counselor is an expert who can give practical advice about their problems.[illegible]

A number of researchers strongly recommend group counseling as a preferred counseling style for American Indians as it is more reflective of the cultural worldview of this population. The sense of group, rather than the individual, is highly valued in most American Indian cultures. This is also very consistent with school counseling practices in which group work is used frequently with students. Thomason also recommends family counseling whenever possible.[illegible]

Another factor school counselors need to consider in developing effective counseling strategies is the need to be involved in the Native community itself. It is important to attend community activities, social events, and tribal ceremonies to the greatest degree possible. Of course, culturally sensitive school counselors should seek out knowledge about the appropriateness of outsider attendance at tribal ceremonies beyond the generally public powwow or other social dances. In working with European American counselors who live on or near Indian reservations, it is surprising how many counselors have never attended a powwow or have done so only once or twice. To get a true sense of the student's world, it is necessary to experience that world as much as possible. In many Native communities, tribal members have their own names for particular areas of the community, and the only way to find out about these areas is to visit them. Often the only way to understand the importance of tribal activities is to attend them. While school counselors are encouraged to attend Native-oriented activities, they should participate with caution. If possible, approach these occasions from the Native cultural perspective in which unfamiliar situations are observed until there is a reason to be invited to participate.

One school official used the extended family system and the strong respect most Native cultures have for their elders quite effectively. The school library was displaying photographs of many tribal leaders from early history to contemporary times. The school official would take students to a private area of the library to discuss concerns with them. In prefacing his remarks, he would remind the students of their relatives who were leaders of the community and the things they had accomplished. If he needed to instill a sense of pride or commitment, he would wait until the students were ready to hear such a message and then draw upon their relatives' accomplishments to remind them of their places in the community and tribe. This tactic requires an extensive knowledge of a tribe's history and extended family systems.

Overall, the establishment of trust and rapport is an ongoing process that can quickly be destroyed if violated. It is also a process that has strong historic roots with American Indian people, creating additional challenges in cross-cultural situations.

Confidentiality. Confidentiality is considered a critical element in establishing trust and rapport in counseling situations. Counselors who struggle to find more effective strategies for working with American Indian students must carefully examine the challenges posed by confidentiality. The professional ethical and legal standards of confidentiality are the same with this population as with other clients. However, the nature of communication patterns and extended family systems creates the need to reflect on this factor in counseling Native students. Within many traditional Native family systems, communication patterns are quite indirect. For example, if a son is not pleased with his mother's actions, he cannot tell her directly, although he can go to another person such as an aunt. The aunt can then go to the mother to explain the son's concerns. The mother, in turn, can respond to her son through the aunt. While this pattern of communication avoids direct conflict and contributes to the sense of harmony among relationships, it also can confuse the communication process. It is important for school counselors to be aware of this communication pattern and be alert for how they may be drawn into it. For example, if a member of a student's family asks the school counselor whether it would be a good idea for Johnny to attend a particular function, the family member may be seeking a way to express his or her own opinion by saying the counselor said it was a good idea. Counselors must recognize the indirect communication pattern in place and become adept at interpreting it accurately.

School counselors must also exercise care in what they communicate within extended family systems. Certainly reiterating the rules of confidentiality on a regular basis helps everyone involved clarify boundaries. While family system theory helps define how relatively nuclear families work, school counselors generally work with far more family members than in a European American cultural system, and as indicated earlier, some of these family members are recognized as such only within the family system. Counselors must find ways to communicate effectively within existing communication patterns and avoid violating their client's right to confidentiality.

The possibility of dual roles in small reservation communities is also a factor in maintaining the students' rights to confidentiality. It is a challenge in any small community where everyone knows everyone else. This will likely create another role for school counselors who try to be visible in the Native community and to attend tribal activities to establish trust and rapport. Again, it is important for counselors to remember they will be scrutinized for what they say and do within the community. Additional caution needs to be exercised to ensure that no information can be attributed back to something the counselor has said, which could be construed as violating students' confidentiality.

Environmental factors: Racism and prejudice. Racism and prejudice are realities in the world of American Indians. Counselors need to remember this fact when developing effective counseling strategies. As indicated by previously cited research, counselors can work with the school system and community to help all students recognize the value of ethnic diversity. Counselors should develop group and class exercises to reinforce students' self-esteem and self-worth. Start simply with exercises that create an awareness by students and educators that each person has a culture. One such exercise is to provide all students, teachers, or administrators with drawing materials and ask them to draw their culture within a five- to ten-minute time frame. The results will promote extensive discussion. Value clarification exercises also draw attention to cultural differences and the need to respect diversity without judging others.[10]

Counselors must acknowledge that racism and prejudice exist and must be dealt with by all concerned. Derald and David Sue point out, "Racism is alive, well, and thriving in the United States."[11] Awareness is one step but a more active stance would be more conducive to American Indian students' well-being. Racism ranges from covert, found in institutional forms of racism, to overt biases, expressed at the individual level; this needs to be recognized by school counselors. A review is needed of school policies as well as testing tools used with American Indian students, including standardized counseling instruments and ability or IQ testing (e.g., Iowa Basic Skills Test, ACT, SAT, and so forth).

Charles Ridley's work on the impact of racism in counseling identifies five assumptions:

> (1) racism is reflected in behavior, (2) racist acts can be performed by prejudiced *and* nonprejudiced people [emphasis added], (3) no one ethnic group is responsible for racism, (4) the determination as to a racist act is in the consequences and not the causes of the behavior, and (5) power is the force that is necessary for racism to continue.[12]

School counselors must thoroughly understand racism and prejudice to address them effectively. This is especially true in situations where many people are unaware that their behavior in cross-cultural situations can frequently result in unintentional racism.

Summary

Counseling has always been a part of American Indian culture. Only recently has the European American counseling establishment recognized the role of culture in counseling. Developing a historical understanding of American Indians is important to working with American Indian students. It is also important for school counselors to recognize the tremendous diversity among and within American Indian tribes and the impact of acculturation factors and cultural identity issues. The cultural differences between American Indian and European American students are very real and require an awareness of value differences and the implications of a few of the primary values described herein. School counselors need to obtain cross-cultural competencies to be effective. The establishment of trust and rapport, counseling styles, confidentiality, and dealing with the environmental factors of racism and prejudice are essential elements of a counselor's knowledge base.

Notes

1. Deborah Wetsit (Assiniboine) holds a doctorate in counseling (emphasis in cross-cultural counseling), is a former faculty member at the University of Montana, and is the former dean of instruction at Haskell Indian Nations University. She is the distance learning coordinator for the Montana Consortium and works extensively with In-Care Network, Inc.

2. See Gladding, *Counseling* and Peterson and Nisenholz, *Orientation to Counseling*.

3. American School Counselor Association, *School Counselor and Comprehensive Counseling*, 1.

4. See Gladding, *Counseling* and Gibson, Mitchell, and Basile, *Counseling in the Elementary School*.

5. See Attneave, "American Indians."

6. See Trimble and Fleming, "Providing Counseling Services."

7. See Palsano, *We the . . . First Americans* and Lee, "School Counseling."

8. Thomason, "Counseling Native American Students," 109.

9. See Hillabrant and others, "Native American Education."

10. LaFromboise and Low, "American Indian Children," 119.

11. See Draguns, "Dilemmas and Choices"; Atkinson, Morten, and Sue, *Counseling American Minorities*; and Sue and Sue, *Counseling the Culturally Different*.

12. Phinney and Rotheram.,"Children's Ethnic Socialization." 13. See also Aboud, "Development of Ethnic Self-Identification"; Katz, "Developmental and Social Processes"; Youngman and Sadongei, "Counseling the American Indian Child"; Trimble, "A Cognitive-Behavioral Approach"; and Nel, "Preventing School Failure: The Native American Child."

13. Aboud, "Development of Ethnic Self-Identification," 45.

14. See Samovar and Porter, *Communication Between Cultures.*

15. Trimble, "Value Differentials" (1976), 204. See also Peterson and Nisenholz, *Orientation to Counseling.*

16. See Nel, "Preventing School Failure."

17. See Phinney and Rotheram, "Children's Ethnic Socialization."

18. Tafoya's "Coyote's Eyes" provides an excellent overview of Native family systems in comparison to European American family systems.

19. See Zintz, *Education Across Cultures*; Bryde, *Indian Students and Guidance*; Trimble, "Value Differentials" (1976); LaFromboise, Trimble, and Mohatt, "Counseling Interventions"; Trimble and Fleming, "Providing Counseling"; LaFromboise and Low, "American Indian Children"; and Herring, "Counseling Native American Youth."

20. See Attneave, "American Indians."

21. Derald Wing Sue and others, "Cross-Cultural Counseling Competencies," 45-52. See also Herring, "Counseling Native American Youth"; LaFromboise, Trimble, and Mohatt, "Counseling Interventions"; Trimble and Fleming, "Providing Counseling"; Trimble, "Value Differentials" (1976); Dodd, *Dynamics of Intercultural Communication*; Atkinson, Morten, and Sue, *Counseling American Minorities;* Samovar and Porter, *Communication Between Cultures;* and Attneave, "American Indians."

22. See Lockhart, "Historic Distrust"; LaFromboise and Low, "American Indian Children"; and Everett, Proctor, and Cartmell, "Providing Psychological Services."

23. See LaFromboise, "American Indian Mental Health Policy" and Wetsit, "Counseling Preferences."

24. See Lewis and Ho, "Social Work" and Lockhart, "Historic Distrust."

25. Youngman and Sadongei, "Counseling the American Indian Child," 273-77; Trimble, "Value Differentials" (1976), 204. See also Lockhart, "Historic Distrust"; LaFromboise, Trimble, and Mohatt, "Counseling Interventions"; LaFromboise and Low, "American Indian Children"; and Thomason, "Counseling Native American Students."

26. See Lockhart, "Historic Distrust" and Thomason, "Counseling Native American Students."

27. See Dauphinais, Dauphinais, and Rowe, "Effects of Race"; Spang, "Counseling the American Indian"; and LaFromboise, Trimble, and Mohatt, "Counseling Interventions."

28. See Attneave, "American Indians"; Lewis and Ho, "Social Work"; Dufrene and Coleman, "Counseling Native Americans"; and Thomason, "Counseling Native American Students."

29. Davis and Ritchie, "Confidentiality."

30. See Aboud, "Development of Ethnic Self-Identification" and Katz, "Developmental and Social Processes."

31. Sue and Sue, *Counseling the Culturally Different*, 4.

32. Ridley, "Racism in Counseling," 57-58.

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CHAPTER 9

The Role of Social Work in Advancing the Practice of Indigenous Education

Obstacles and Promises in Empowerment-Oriented Social Work Practice

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AND

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Education for Indigenous children should empower them to become "full participants in their communities, the country, and the world."[2] However, a major barrier to empowerment for Indigenous peoples is their history of intellectual and cultural oppression in European American schools. Social workers who accept the challenge of rising above their own profession's past involvement in this history can help Indigenous peoples change their children's future.

Schools have generally approached the education of Indigenous children from a deficit model, based upon the belief that First Nations children have "lacked the innate intelligence to succeed in school."[3] Deficit thinking continues today but is couched in slightly different terms. Social workers and educators alike often identify Indigenous children as an "at-risk" or "vulnerable" school population because of high drop-out rates and low academic achievement. This labeling is individualized to students and rarely takes into account the larger political barriers and dynamics that maintain oppression.[4] Solving personal problems on an individual level, using individual solutions, is important. However, structural approaches aimed at reducing institutional racism and oppression are equally important. Problems are encompassed by both individual and structural frameworks. The professional mission of social work and the roles of social workers can advance the practice of Indigenous education. Empowerment-oriented social work practices illustrate how this is possible. The extent to which social workers can help remains to be seen. However, to create change, educators interested in advancing Indigenous education must develop strong collaborative relationships with social workers, whether they are based in schools or in other agencies. Educators and social workers with progressive, courageous, and collaborative attitudes and an interest in overturning oppressive aspects of Indigenous education will make powerful contributions.

Advancing the Practice of Indigenous Education: A Social Work Perspective

The purpose of what we call social work is to help people surmount personal and environmental barriers that inhibit growth, development, and adaptive functioning. The role of social work in advancing Indigenous education is, then, (1) to help Indigenous children and families resolve *personal and family circumstances* that prevent students from achieving the highest levels of learning and education and (2) to help students, parents, and communities understand and take action to overcome *political and institutional barriers and oppressive conditions* that prevent children and their families from achieving the highest levels of learning, education, and well-being.[5]

Social workers should refer to or provide culturally sensitive services that assist with such issues as communicating; parenting; resolving conflicts; and nurturing spiritual, emotional, physical, and intellectual development. Social workers should also use their professional skills and knowledge to mobilize action against oppressive environmental conditions in the school or community that produce racism, substance abuse, and poverty.

Empowerment Theories, Principles, Processes, and Approaches

Empowerment is used to describe much of what is done in social work, but everything that is done is not empowering. Julian Rappaport writes, "To be committed to an empowerment agenda, is to be committed to identify, facilitate, or create contexts in which heretofore silent and isolated people, those who are 'outsiders' in various settings, organizations, and communities gain understanding, voice, and influence over decisions that affect their lives."[6]

Theories of empowerment help explain how forces of discrimination and oppression work in today's society. By understanding these forces, people can figure out practical ways to work toward a more just society. These theories are important to advancing Indigenous education because they

- help explain social class issues and oppression;
- identify the barriers that keep people in a state of powerlessness;
- offer students value frameworks for promoting human empowerment and liberation;
- find practical ways to take down barriers and achieve social justice;
- build on people's strengths, resiliency, and resources.[7]

The social work literature contains many definitions of empowerment: a process, multilevel construct, service-delivery approach, or way to build on strengths of people and communities.[8]

Empowerment as a process. Lorraine Gutierrez says, "Empowerment involves the process of increasing personal, interpersonal, or political power so that individuals, families, and communities can take action to improve their situations." Gutierrez also regards several factors as important to empowerment: developing critical consciousness (ability to perceive social, economic, and political forces that affect people), reducing self-blame, assuming personal responsibility for change, and enhancing people's confidence and skill in making change happen.[9]

Barbara Solomon thinks of empowerment as a process in which the social worker engages in a set of activities with clients to reduce the powerlessness they experience as members of a stigmatized group. The social worker and client first identify the power blocks contributing to the problem. The social worker then helps the client develop and begin using specific strategies to reduce the effects of the client's long-term belief in his or her own incompetence or worthlessness and overcome the ongoing political, economic, and social barriers that stand in the client's way.

Empowerment as a multilevel construct. Karla Miley, Michael O'Melia, and Brenda DuBois explain:

> On a *personal* level empowerment refers to a subjective state of mind, feeling competent and experiencing a sense of control; on a *political* level, it refers to the objective reality of opportunities in societal structures and the reallocation of power through a modification of social structures.[10]

Judith A. B. Lee suggests empowerment rests on three interlocking dimensions: (1) developing a positive and potent sense of self; (2) gaining a body of knowledge and detecting and understanding social and political realities; and (3) developing the practical ability to attain personal and group goals.

Empowerment as a social work approach. Lee focuses on seven key principles of empowerment practice:

1. All oppression is destructive of life and should be challenged by social workers and clients.
2. The social worker should not lose sight of the larger context when working with people in situations of oppression.
3. People empower themselves (social workers should assist).
4. People who share common ground need each other to attain empowerment.
5. Social workers should establish an "I and I" relationship with clients.
6. Social workers should encourage the client to speak his or her own words.

7. Social workers should maintain a social change focus.[11]

Building on strengths. The strengths perspective of social work focuses on what people, communities, and cultures have versus what they do not have. Almost everything imaginable can be a strength: what people know and learn about themselves; knowledge, talents, cultural customs, and beliefs; personal qualities; and pride. This empowering perspective is founded on the following assumptions:

- Despite life's problems, all people and environments possess strengths that can be used to improve the quality of clients' lives.
- Client motivation is based on fostering client strengths.
- Individuals and groups are more likely to continue autonomous development and growth when it is supported by their own capacities, knowledge, and skills.
- The social worker does not fill the role of "expert." Discovering strengths requires cooperative collaboration between clients and workers.
- Social workers must avoid the victim mind-set and the temptation to "blame the victim"; instead, they should focus on how the individual has managed to survive in an oppressive environment.
- Any environment, no matter how harsh, contains resources.[12]

These ideas can guide social workers and educators as they integrate their efforts and collaborate with Indigenous communities to overcome oppressive circumstances and advance the practice of Indigenous education.

What Is Social Work?

It is important for educators to understand the mission, role, and professional activities of social work and social workers so they can identify areas of possible collaboration. The social work profession uses several definitions to define its scope and mission. *The Code of Ethics of the National Association of Social Workers* (NASW), the largest professional social work organization in the United States, states this:

> The primary mission of the social work profession is to enhance human well-being and help meet the basic human needs of all people, with particular attention to the needs and empowerment of people who are vulnerable, oppressed, and living in poverty. A historic and defining feature of social work is the profession's focus on individual well-being in a social context and the well-being of society. Fundamental to social work is attention to environmental forces that create, contribute to, and address problems in living.[13]

Rex Skidmore, Milton Thackeray, and William Farley define social work as "a profession that helps people to solve personal, group (especially family), and community problems and to attain satisfying personal, group, and community relationships through . . . casework, group work, community organization, and research."[14]

This professional mission statement describes multiple roles for social workers. They provide services, act as agents of planned change, and help individuals who find difficulty relating with other people.[15]

Current Obstacles to Advancing Indigenous Education

There is a crucial need for empowerment-oriented social work practice in Indigenous education. The history of Indigenous education is replete with oppression, racism, discrimination, cultural genocide, social control, and the imposition of hegemonic European American education methods. Understanding the history of a group's oppression raises consciousness and is important to the knowledge base of empowerment social work practice.[16]

Unacknowledged histories of oppression. The greatest obstacle to advancing Indigenous education may be the lack of acknowledgment and redress of its oppressive history. The removal of Indigenous children from their homes by the social work profession is part of this legacy. This painful legacy has generated extensive mistrust, alienation, and resistance among Indigenous peoples toward European American models of assimilationist education. David Gil describes oppression as "relations of domination and exploitation—economic, social, and psychological—between individuals; between groups and classes, within and beyond societies; and, globally, between entire societies." He states that oppression results in injustice, discrimination, dehumanization, and growth-inhibiting conditions of living. Psychological studies of oppression suggest that repeated exposure to oppressive situations leads people to internalize negative self-images.[17]

The most potent and hostile form of oppression brought about by educators was the U.S. government policy of forcing Indigenous children to attend religious and government-sponsored boarding schools. In boarding schools, Indigenous students were exposed to oppressive conditions for extended periods of their childhoods. Educators indoctrinated students to prepare them for subordination to colonialism and assimilation into majority culture.[18]

Boarding schools resembled forced acculturation camps where tribal languages, cultural beliefs, and cultural practices, regarded as impediments to European American *civilization,* were systematically eradicated in the education process. Students were subjected to harsh physical punishment when they spoke their languages and were taught to doubt and devalue the beliefs, identity, and cultures of their communities and parents. While many Indigenous peoples today hold a positive view of education, some still pass on the stories of the oppression and harsh treatment of boarding schools to their children.[19]

Colonialism and its legacy. Boarding schools did not develop in a historical vacuum. They were an extension of the European American colonialization process that exerted control over the economic, political, and social lives of First Nations peoples. Robert Blauner explains, "Colonialism traditionally refers to the establishment of domination over a geographically-external political unit most often inhabited by people of a different race and culture, where this domination is political and economic, and the colony exists subordinated to and dependent upon the mother country."[20]

Social work practice literature rarely encourages the use of the European American colonialism theory to explain the current social, political, and economic hardships faced by Indigenous peoples. Yet Indigenous social work scholars insist that understanding colonialism is essential to effective social work practice with First Nations peoples.[21] Because of this lack in the education of social workers, they rarely understand how colonialism contributed to the creation of a host of ills in Indigenous communities: poverty, internalized violence, high mortality, destroyed families, broken-up village relations, and subordinated political structures. Yet the point of colonialism was to weaken the resistance of Indigenous peoples so they could be controlled.[22]

Colonialism did not exist in isolation. It was the product of racism. According to Blauner, racism "is a fundamental principle of social domination by which a group seen as inferior or different in terms of alleged biological characteristics is exploited, controlled, and oppressed socially and psychically by a superordinate group." The racism of many Europeans and European Americans made it acceptable to force Indigenous children into boarding schools.[23]

Linda Miller Cleary and Thomas D. Peacock remind us, "The process of colonization, the Christianization and the 'civilization' of the Indigenous peoples in this country today affect both the colonizer and colonized in more ways than we at first discern. Remnants of oppression still affect the daily intercourse of the two peoples." These negative effects of European American colonialism upon the well-being of Indigenous peoples are well documented. Today First Nations experience shorter life expectancy and greater rates of poverty, unemployment, violence, alcoholism, chronic disease, suicide, and accidents than the general population in the United States.[24]

The historical time capsule of boarding school oppression is still manifest in Indigenous education today. For example, Indigenous children drop out of school at the highest rate of all ethnic groups and experience an excess of academic failure and low achievement. W. H. DuBray states that the "inter-generational effect of the boarding school era is still considered one of the major factors in the breakdown of Indian family traditions and has had a major impact on parenting practices for generations." When looking for causes of the disproportionate number of youth gangs and high rates of violence, suicide, and substance abuse among Indigenous communities, social workers and educators should challenge themselves to determine how colonialism has contributed to these problems.[25]

Social workers as historical participants in the oppression of Indigenous peoples. Most social workers do not know the history of their profession with respect to Indigenous peoples. Thus, most do not know how social workers oppressed and tore apart communities by taking Indigenous children and placing them in boarding schools. Most do not know that attitudes exhibited by their professional predecessors created deep mistrust for social work among Indigenous peoples.

A congressional investigation in the mid-1970s discovered that "many state social workers and judges were either ignorant of Indian culture or tradition or were prejudiced in their attitudes; many children were removed from their homes primarily because the family was Indian and poor. In one state, for example, the adoption rate of Indian children was eight times that of non-Indian children. Entire reservations were being depleted of their youth."[26]

The ignorance and prejudice toward Indigenous cultures by social workers was present for two reasons. First, social workers, like educators, were the products of a European American education system that disrespected or ignored Indigenous cultures while promoting its own history, heroes, language, and culture. Second, the education system did not (and still does not) equip students to understand how European American colonization oppressed the social, political, and economic lives of Indigenous peoples.

Education rarely incorporates the voices (narrations) of Indigenous peoples who have been traumatized by European American racism and colonialism. According to Paulo Freire, a radical Brazilian scholar who promoted "critical consciousness" among oppressed peoples, education uses a "banking approach" when teaching history and most other subjects. In this approach, students are passive receptacles (listening objects), and the teacher or school (narrating subject) deposits selective knowledge that is often detached from the reality of the students. This domination of student thinking subverts students' abilities to challenge or question what they are told and keeps them submerged in a situation where their awareness of and responses to Indigenous peoples' oppression are practically impossible. Consequently, education suffers from narration sickness when it comes to Indigenous peoples.

To counter this reality, social workers and educators must seek out narratives of Indigenous peoples. The narrative is an important way to share the depth of personal and group experiences and to understand the context of behavior, feelings, and thoughts. Narratives bring meaning to the engagement between storyteller and listener. They empower individuals to voice their perspective and reaffirm strengths and resiliency while helping raise the consciousness of the listener. For an example of a personal narrative, see the box below.

Social workers were not alone in their "work" of removing Indigenous children from homes; government agents, teachers, and Christian missionaries also participated. Together, they took thousands of children and placed them in off-reservation boarding schools and non-Indigenous foster homes, where there was little or no concern for children's cultural needs.

Without question, the most prolific baby snatcher was Henry Richard Pratt, a European American, Baptist, U.S. Army cavalry officer in the late 1800s. Colonel Pratt believed Indigenous peoples needed to be *civilized* and made into Christians. He believed civilization could best be achieved through a White man's education. This belief led him to open one of the first off-reservation boarding schools

A Personal Narrative

BY MICHAEL YELLOW BIRD

My first experience with social workers happened when I was about eight or nine years old. In my community, we all knew the green car with the black lettering on the doors belonged to the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). We knew that the tall, bald-headed White man who drove the car and smiled and waved at us was the BIA social worker. We knew he took children from our community and sent them away to boarding schools or to White families, especially those children whose parents were poor or drank a lot.

It was a hot summer afternoon when the green car drove up to my house. As usual, our house was bustling with many relatives laughing, eating, and carrying on multiple conversations in English and Sahnish. I watched the bald White man get out of his car, walk up to our house, knock on the door, and enter without being asked to do so. Once inside, he glanced around at all the activity, smiled, and finally made eye contact with my mom.

"Well, Mrs. Yellow Bird," he said, "I've come for the children. Are they ready?" With that remark, all conversations immediately ceased, and everyone looked at him. "Yes," said my mother as she got up from the kitchen table, where she had been visiting with several of my aunts.

She slowly walked toward my cousin standing next to me, gently put for Indigenous children in the United States at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, in 1879.

In his book *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928*, David Adams writes, "Pratt liked Indians, but he had little use for Indian cultures." One of his beliefs was to "kill the Indian in him and save the man. . . ." Pratt's fantasy was to place the entire population of Indian children across the nation, with some 70,000 White families each taking in one Indian child." Pratt believed Indigenous cultures were so inferior that Indigenous children would immediately abandon their own homes and cultures once they tasted and understood the superior ways of European American families. For almost 100 years, from Pratt's 1879 opening of the Carlisle boarding school until the passage of the *Indian Child Welfare Act* (1978), which ended the removal of Indigenous children without consent of the tribal community, the

her arm around his shoulders, and guided him toward my other cousins, who had gathered in a small tight circle in the middle of the room. She looked at them with intense pain in her face while at the same time trying to smile at them.

"It's time to go with Mr. Herman," she said. "He's going to take you away to a real nice school." Then all hell broke loose. My cousins started crying and hid behind my mother, who also burst into tears. My sisters, aunts, and girl cousins all started crying too. But us boys just stood still, frozen with confusion, paralyzed by what was happening.

As my cousins were led outside by the social worker and my mom, I unfroze enough to move to the window to watch them loaded into the green car. They continued crying and hanging onto my mother's dress. I don't remember my mother coming back into the house, but as I turned away from the window after the green car went out of sight, I saw her sitting at the table with her face buried in the palms of her hands, crying and saying, "I wanted to keep them." All around her stood my aunts, sisters, and girl cousins sobbing. But us boys, we just stood still, unable to cry, glancing at one another and the floor.

Unfortunately, the events described in this narrative occurred not only at my house but over and over again in Indigenous homes and communities all across the United States and Canada. So widespread was the practice of removing First Nations children from their homes that Indigenous peoples across North America came to regard social work as "baby snatching" and "legalized abduction."

legal abduction and ethnic cleansing of Native children remained an official social policy in the United States.[28]

Early social work practice, like education, was guided by deficit thinking. Governments and religious organizations, which, like Pratt, considered the cultures and religious traditions of Indigenous peoples inferior and in need of eradication, promoted a model of European American Christian belief and virtue. Social workers, who removed Indigenous children from their homes and imposed Christianity and European American education upon them, contributed to the disruption of Aboriginal cultures for many generations.

In Canada, where the treatment of Indigenous peoples and their children was almost identical to that in the United States, social workers continued to remove Indigenous children from their homes well into the 1990s. The mass removal of Indigenous children was so devastating that, when First Nations peoples in British Columbia were given the opportunity to review and comment on provincial child protection legislation, they called on the Minister of Social Services of the province to end the "legalized abduction of aboriginal children."[29]

Recently the Canadian government formally apologized to "its 1.3 million Indigenous peoples for 150 years of paternalistic assistance programs and racist residential schools that devastated Indian communities as thoroughly as any war or disease." The government admitted its role in taking thousands of youths from their families and forcing them to attend schools where they were sometimes sexually abused and often punished for speaking their languages and practicing their customs. The *New York Times* reported, "Residential schools were also operated in the United States, and similar abuses took place. The closest the United States Government came to apologizing was a 1969 Senate investigation, initiated by Robert F. Kennedy, that documented abuses."[30]

To practice empowerment-oriented social work, social workers and educators must acknowledge the painful legacy of boarding schools and the mass removal of Indigenous children from their homes. They must promote honest and meaningful dialogues with community members directly or indirectly affected. Social workers and educators who engage in such dialogue will experience personal empowerment as they become more attuned to the effects of boarding schools on the communities where they are practicing. Community members will experience a sense of personal satisfaction when their stories are honored and their resiliency is acknowledged.

On an organizational level, schools and social service agencies that recognize these painful legacies can develop strategies to avoid similar oppressive practices and policies toward Indigenous students and their families. They should create culturally appropriate conditions that promote the personal and political empowerment of Indigenous communities.

However, the point of dialogue is not to saddle current social workers and educators with the sins of their profession. Rather, the aim is to respect and validate the narratives, survival, and experiences of Indigenous peoples. Ignoring the oppressive history of social work and education promotes narration sickness and perpetuates mistrust of social work and education by Indigenous children, parents, and communities.

Professional Behavior

The NASW *Code of Ethics* provides direction for social workers but does not explicitly define professional behavior; instead, it "offers a set of values, principles, and standards to guide decision-making and conduct when ethical issues arise."[31] The code identifies six core values embraced by the social work profession: *service, social justice, dignity and worth of the person, importance of human relationships, integrity,* and *competence.* These values are important to the promotion of individual and political empowerment.

Service. The *service* value suggests "social workers elevate service to others above self interest [and] . . . draw upon their knowledge, values, and skills to help people in need . . . and volunteer some portion of their professional skills with no expectation of significant financial return (pro bono service)."[32]

This value urges social workers to put the needs of Indigenous students and families before their own. For example, if a child's cultural or emotional needs are not being met by a teacher or school, a social worker can (and should) advocate for the child's needs even though it may negatively affect the worker's relationship with the school or teacher or jeopardize his or her own employment. The service value suggests meeting a client's need for services is an important goal that must be achieved, especially when the client holds little power and is vulnerable to racist and oppressive treatment.

To this end, social workers can use empowerment-oriented social work practice to assist students and parents in identifying and transcending *direct* (institutional) and *indirect* (personal) "power blocks" that deny opportunities important to a child's education. Social workers can work closely with educators to find ways to serve that enable Indigenous families, communities, and individuals to understand and address the challenges affecting their lives.[32]

Social justice. To achieve social justice, "social workers pursue social change, particularly with and on behalf of vulnerable and oppressed individuals and groups of people." This statement suggests "change efforts are focused primarily on issues of poverty, unemployment, discrimination, and other forms of social injustice" and "these activities seek to promote sensitivity to and knowledge about oppression and cultural and ethnic diversity."[33]

To challenge education practices or community environments that oppress Indigenous children, social workers can examine how different forms of social injustice (e.g., inferior education methods and conditions, poverty, poor health, individual and structural racism) affect student education. Social workers and educators can collaborate with children, parents, and the community to strategize how to resolve such conditions. On a *political* level in schools, social workers and educators can promote participation of Indigenous children and parents in policy making, curriculum development, and program and teacher evaluation.

Dignity and worth of the person. Social workers and educators must "treat each person in a caring and respectful fashion, mindful of individual differences and cultural and ethnic diversity" and "seek to resolve conflicts between clients' interests and the broader society's interests in a socially responsible manner consistent with the values, ethical principles, and ethical standards of the profession."[34]

Social workers can collaborate with teachers and school administrators to promote respectful treatment of Indigenous children and their parents. Such collaboration can lead to better understanding and support for tribal and individual self-determination, identity formation, and increased responsibility as defined by tribal beliefs, values, and customs. By promoting such cultural understanding, social workers can help teachers and schools create a caring, safe, and respectful environment. Social workers can also mediate conflicts between teachers and students or teachers and parents, maintaining support for all parties.

Importance of human relationships. Social workers must understand that relationships among people are central in the helping process. The NASW code encourages social workers to "seek to strengthen relationships among people in a purposeful effort to promote, restore, maintain, and enhance the well-being of individuals, families, social groups, organizations, and communities."[16]

Social workers and educators must recognize Indigenous family, clan, and community strengths, avoiding the tendency to see members of these groups as victims. Community empowerment can be promoted when social workers and educators look for the skills, knowledge, qualities, and customs people have to heal themselves. In many instances, the most effective healing takes place in the tribal community and not in the school office.[17]

Integrity. Social workers must "behave in a trustworthy manner" and "act honestly and responsibly and promote ethical practices on the part of the organizations with which they are affiliated."[18]

Social workers can arrange home visits to discuss concerns parents have regarding their children's education. This includes concerns about their individual children and about the school or school district itself. When attending community meetings, social workers can explain their role and inquire how they can support the Indigenous community. Taking the time to learn about historical oppression is important in empowerment, and a knowledgeable social worker can enlighten teachers, administrators, and school boards about contemporary effects of this history. Indigenous communities, too, often need help in critically understanding this painful legacy. Social workers who gain trust by collaborating with community members can help people find ways to hasten the healing process.[19]

Competence. The *Code of Ethics* states, "Social workers continually strive to increase their professional knowledge and skills and apply them in practice. Social workers should aspire to contribute to the knowledge base of the profession."[40]

Social workers and educators can improve their effectiveness in working with Indigenous peoples by reading the right literature, newspapers, and research; spending time with Indigenous people from various walks of life including grassroots populations, professionals, scholars, and tribal officials or staff; and using a practical approach that is informed by cultural and tribal sensibilities and that seeks always to empower people.

Professional Education

Social workers receive undergraduate training toward a bachelor of social work (BSW) degree at an accredited program. Many also work toward a master of social work (MSW) graduate degree or doctorate in social work or social welfare. In most instances, students are accepted into professional social work programs only after successful completion of a two-year liberal arts university program. Most social workers practicing in schools have BSW or MSW degrees.

The Council on Social Work Education (CSWE) provides national accreditation for professional schools of social work and social welfare. This organization's curriculum policy requires "a 'professional foundation' of content and learning experiences which constitutes the essential knowledge, values, and skills that all social workers should possess."[41] The curriculum addresses five areas: human behavior in the social environment (HBSE), social work practice, research, social welfare policy, and field practicum.

HBSE. In HBSE courses, students gain knowledge of individual, group, community, institutional, and cultural dynamics and behavior. These courses introduce students to theories of human behavior that include culturally diverse perspectives. For example, students may learn about the theory of *talking circles*, a group process often used in Indigenous communities for problem solving and sharing. They may also be exposed to the theory of the *medicine wheel*, another Indigenous method of explaining human behavior.[42]

Social work practice. Karen Haynes and Karen Holmes observe, "Social work practice courses focus on skill development, ranging from essential interpersonal skills to specific practice principles of selected models of intervention."[43] These courses provide students with skills to intervene with individuals, groups, families, organizations, and communities. Social work practice courses also provide students with knowledge and skills that can be generalized to diverse client populations. For example, in courses on human diversity, students learn a general set of Indigenous values and helping practices taken from Indigenous social work scholarship. Students can use this knowledge when applying intervention skills with Indigenous peoples.

Research. Research courses require students to understand and apply basic research methods to relevant social work problems. Students, especially those in graduate programs, learn to conduct culturally sensitive research on behalf of Indigenous communities. They may collaborate with educators and Indigenous communities to design research that will help promote social and cultural justice in education settings. For example, content analysis can be performed on classroom textbooks and curricular materials to expose insensitive depictions of Indigenous peoples.

Social policy. Social policy courses enable students to analyze social problems, policies, and programs. This course also enables students to understand the effects of various social programs and policies on their professional practice. With these skills, social workers evaluate social problems, programs, and policies that oppress Indigenous communities.

Field practicum. Field practicum enables social work students to learn under a supervisor or field instructor in direct professional practice. Students working in Indigenous community and agency settings have an opportunity to experience the unique social needs of Indigenous peoples, become involved in cultural sharing, and learn to respect and use Indigenous models of helping. Students can bring this knowledge into education settings.[44]

At some point in undergraduate and graduate social work training, students study human diversity. In social work, this term encompasses "groups distinguished by race, ethnicity, culture, class, gender, sexual orientation, religion, physical or mental ability, age, and national origin."[45] Students learn that practitioners who serve diverse populations must use different forms of assessment and intervention skills depending on which group they are serving.

These skills are also useful in education. Social workers can sensitize teachers and administrators to the need to use culturally appropriate approaches with Indigenous children and their families.

Generalist Practice

All social work practice has an underlying *generalist* orientation. This framework is important because social workers can apply generalist skills, knowledge, and values to their practice among Indigenous peoples. Many MSW programs also require students to choose a special area of study such as family therapy, administration, corrections, or clinical social work.[36]

So what does generalist practice induce? The 1992 Curriculum Policy Statement of the Council on Social Work Education recommends a generalist practice that

- emphasizes professional relationships characterized by mutuality, collaboration, and respect for the client system;
- focuses practice assessments on the examination of client strengths and problems in the interactions among individuals and between people and their environments;
- includes knowledge, values, and skills to enhance the well-being of people and to help ameliorate the environmental conditions that affect people adversely;
- includes the following skills—defining issues, collecting and assessing data, planning and contracting, identifying alternative interventions, selecting and implementing appropriate courses of action, using appropriate research-based knowledge and technological advances, and termination;
- includes approaches and skills for practice with clients from different social, cultural, racial, religious, spiritual, and class backgrounds with systems of all sizes.[37]

Roles of Social Workers

Social workers should continually focus on empowerment-oriented practice when working with Indigenous peoples. One research group characterizes social workers as striving to help people create order in a complex world. They do this by helping clients function better and promoting social justice. These tasks require a realistic understanding of how conditions are currently and a positive view of how things could be.[48]

Social workers provide a variety of human services: mental health, corrections, medical care, child protection, housing, and vocational rehabilitation. Practice options include microinterventions that focus on individuals, families, and groups, and macrointerventions, where action is aimed at oppressive institutions, laws, or ideas. Social work clients are both voluntary and involuntary (e.g., clients ordered by courts of law to receive services).

Bradford Sheafor, Charles Horejsi, and Gloria Horejsi describe several professional roles social workers can assume. The following descriptions of roles have been adapted from these authors to show examples of how social workers can advance Indigenous education.[49]

The social worker as a human services broker or case manager. Social workers collaborate with educators to link Indigenous students and their families to needed human services and other resources, and they coordinate and monitor the use of those services. Social workers often begin by interviewing students, families, and teachers to assess the urgency of the situation and to determine who within the family to involve in the client's treatment. Next the social worker meets with all parties to determine what resources are appropriate, available, and necessary. Finally social workers and teachers offer support and advocacy while students and their families are engaged with service providers and resources.

The social worker as a teacher. Clients learn what they need to know and gain skills to prevent problems or enhance social functioning. Social workers help parents and educators teach social and daily living skills and facilitate behavior changes consistent with the cultural norms of Indigenous communities.

Empowerment-oriented social work practice compels practitioners to make sure that what they teach helps increase the personal, interpersonal, and political power of Indigenous peoples so they can take action to improve their situations.[50]

The social worker as a counselor/clinician. Social workers collaborate with schools to help students improve their social functioning by helping them better understand their attitudes and feelings, modify behaviors, and learn to cope with difficult situations.

The functions of this role include psychosocial assessment and diagnosis, ongoing stabilizing care, social treatment, and practice research. There are two important caveats of this role. The first is that the "deficits" or problem behaviors of the student often become the center of attention and focus of change. The second is that assessment and diagnosis flow from this deficit thinking. For example, clinical assessments often do not assess cultural and family strengths nor do they focus on deficiencies in the social environment when developing treatment plans.

Social workers and educators must collaborate to avoid these tendencies by making sure that assessments of student, family, and community *strengths* are included in any treatment plan. Social workers can also critically examine the strengths and deficits of the school to resolve the problems of this environment. Educators may need to be reminded that using diagnostic labels disempowers and shames students and produces a self-fulfilling prophecy. Thus, students become the label or pathology rather than persons and are regarded as having no personal resources to help address their situations.

The social worker as a staff developer. Social workers help facilitate the professional development of school staff through training and consultation. For example, they raise awareness of teachers, administrators, and school boards about the mission of social work and the multiple roles of social workers.[31] Social workers can be especially helpful by explaining how an important part of their role is helping Indigenous students to empower themselves using personal and political strategies. Social workers also provide professional consultation in such areas as child protection, social services delivery coordination, community development, and mental health.

The social worker as a social change agent. Social workers must take an activist position and collaborate with Indigenous students, parents, educators, and communities to identify community concerns and areas where the quality of life can be enhanced. This may involve mobilizing interest groups to examine oppressive social problems and policies in the school and community and advocating for change. Advocacy can include collecting data and presenting evidence of problems, using mediation skills between opposing parties, or helping others organize protests or boycotts against oppressive actions or parties. In this role, social workers help school personnel to be "sensitive to cultural and ethnic diversity and strive to end discrimination, oppression, poverty, and other forms of social injustice."[52]

It is clear that social workers have multiple skills, sources of knowledge, and commitments at play in their work. Their efforts are guided by an excellent and empowering professional code of ethics. However, the social welfare and education system often does not allow social workers immediately to overturn and transform oppressive conditions of society or change oppressive agency policies and practices. This is especially true when the changes sought are on behalf of populations with limited political power and visibility and numerous social and economic problems. However, educators who are committed to advancing Indigenous education can ally themselves with social workers to form strong, proactive, and justice-oriented coalitions to address oppressive forces.

Micro and Macro (Structural) Issues Affecting the Advancement of Indigenous Education

There are at least six obstacles to advancing Indigenous student success, but social workers and educators can use empowerment-oriented practices to address both micro and macro concerns. Micro concerns are education issues directly affecting individual Indigenous students and families. Macro concerns involve school systems and Indigenous communities. Micro and macro concerns are not mutually exclusive. For example, a micro concern can be getting parents and teachers to work together for the benefit of particular students, while a macro (structural) concern might be raising the consciousness of all teachers about the oppressive legacy of education and its aftermath in Indigenous communities. The two become intertwined when parents and teachers get together to share narratives about the history of boarding schools.

Micro issues. One of the most important micro issues is a *positive working relationship between teachers and Indigenous* *parents.* Parents and the extended family strongly influence the educational success of children and should be active partners in their education. However, Indigenous parents often have been excluded from participation. Historically, parents have been regarded as barriers to their children's educational success because they reinforce "Indianness." Dick Littlebear suggests that one way teachers can make education more friendly to Indigenous parents is to have them come to school to share their experiences with students.[53]

Social workers and educators can improve relations between teachers and Indigenous parents by using an empowerment-oriented strengths perspective. Educators should call upon the skills, talents, and knowledge of Indigenous parents, grandparents, and other extended family members. For example, schools can use individuals who have good mediation skills to resolve conflicts between teachers and parents and teachers and students. Individuals with a lot of patience can mentor children who are having a difficult time in school and serve as a lifeline in the community. Individuals who have talents such as cooking exotic foods, knowledge of organic gardening, or math skills can become helpful partners to educators by sharing what they know with students and other parents. Teachers, social workers, and parents are all empowered through these interactions. Teachers and social workers develop a greater understanding of and appreciation for the skills, talents, and knowledge of parents; parents, in turn, experience a personal sense of competence when they find that their knowledge is valued.

Another important micro concern is *drop-out rates.* Indigenous students have the highest drop-out rates of all ethnic groups. However, the cause has been studied largely from an individual deficit perspective. Studies focus on student characteristics related to dropping out; however, they very seldom investigate the attributes of schools that produce dropouts. Donna Deyhle and Karen Swisher observe, "Youth who leave school are described as deviant, dysfunctional, or deficient because of individual, family, or community characteristics."[54]

It is important that social workers and educators hear the voices of Indigenous students who have dropped out of school. Social workers have a variety of methods at their disposal for collecting information and soliciting personal narratives. For example, they can use data collection skills to interview students and their parents after students drop out. Social workers can collaborate with teachers, parents, and students to examine the school characteristics that contribute to youths' decisions to drop out. Social workers can hold focus groups, bringing together concerned parties and identifying key personal and institutional factors that prevent or promote dropping out of school.

The crossover effect is a well-known phenomenon among Indigenous education scholars. Deyhle and Swisher explain, "This phenomenon suggests that, at some point in school Indian students, who had been achieving at or above the level of their White peers, 'cross over' and begin doing poorly." However, these researchers point out that more recent research suggests the crossover effect does not exist in schools with a more supportive context for Indigenous cultures, identity, and languages, which suggests this phenomenon "is not simply a problem of adolescent development."[11]

Social workers and educators can collaborate with parents and the community to raise consciousness about the crossover effect. They can design supportive environments in the school and community that honor Indigenous cultures, identity, and languages. Social workers can help students understand the strengths of Indigenous cultures and can learn to use a helping lexicon in the languages of students.

Structural concerns. Indigenous-developed curricula is needed in schools. Cultural materials with positive portrayals of Indigenous peoples help Indigenous children develop healthy cultural identities and have a positive influence on their education. An assimilationist approach in education "often results in school failure while an intercultural, antiracist orientation allows students to develop the confidence and motivation that lead to academic success."[12]

One explanation for the long-standing *lack of culturally appropriate curricula* is the lack of political power of Indigenous peoples. School policies, teachers, or administrators can represent direct power blocks for Indigenous students, parents, and communities who desire inclusion of their cultures in schools. In such situations, empowerment-oriented social workers can collaborate with teachers and parents to find suitable textbooks, readings, and lessons for different grade levels. Social workers can use their advocacy training to organize parents and teachers to present lawmakers with evidence of the need for more culturally appropriate curricula.[37]

The general lack of knowledge among educators and curriculum developers about *tribal diversity* represents another structural concern. Indigenous peoples share a common history of colonialism and educational oppression, resulting in poor economic and social outcomes; however, there is no generic Indigenous culture or language. Important differences exist among the hundreds of tribal nations—and even *within* particular nations—with respect to levels of adaptation to majority culture. Also, particular Indigenous students can have very different school experiences.[38]

Social workers can help schools regard this diversity as an honorable, beautiful, and important part of any child's identity. Social workers can share respect for diversity gained through their training, experience, and professional code of ethics. Social workers can promote appreciation for diversity by helping teachers understand that Indigenous peoples compose a unique minority group that includes more than 500 different tribes, the majority of which are sovereign nations. Each tribe has a unique history, language, land, dress, and food. Social workers can also help educators understand diversity by bringing Indigenous peoples from different nations into the school to share their experiences.

Deyhle and Swisher indicate that little research has been conducted on the effects of racism, prejudice, and discrimination on students, even though these conditions clearly exist and may contribute to students' lack of success in school. Agnes Grant and LaVina Gillespie maintain that systemic prejudice and racism must be acknowledged within the education system and that "teachers with the support of administrators and tribal groups must actively work to combat racism." Andy Bowker has found that individual and structural racism is a major reason young Indigenous women leave school.[39]

Social workers can do much to address individual and structural racism, discrimination, and prejudice. President Clinton's dialogue on race in the United States has proven irrelevant for Indigenous peoples. As of 1998 not one First Nations person serves on the president's panel, reflecting the contemporary lack of political power and the invisibility of First Nations peoples in their own homelands.

Racism is, very often, a much avoided subject. Many people believe that racism no longer exists and that all people in the United States are treated equally. To test this notion, social workers and teachers can initiate dialogues in schools and communities about race and invite parents and students to share their experiences. Social workers can collect and publish these stories, making them available to all school personnel. Such stories can raise the consciousness of many people.

Social workers can also collaborate with educators, racism specialists, parents, and children to identify different dimensions present in a school and community. For example, presenting Indigenous peoples as mascots for sports teams or emblems for selling products is visual racism. Words such as *squaw*, used to identify an Indigenous woman, or *savage*, used historically to explain the habits or personalities of Indigenous people, are examples of verbal racism. To help develop dialogues, social workers can enlist Indigenous grassroots activists who have a wealth of experience with racism.

Summary

Social work can be a powerful force in advancing the practice of Indigenous education. Social workers and educators can use numerous empowerment-oriented practice strategies to enable Indigenous students, families, and communities to gain a strong voice, understanding, and influence over the education decisions and practices that affect their lives. Empowerment-oriented practices also offer important ways to increase the personal and political power of students, parents, teachers, school administrators, and communities. Social workers can also suggest strategies to overcome oppression, achieve social justice, and build on Indigenous peoples' strengths, resiliency, and resources.

The mission of social work is to help people meet their basic needs and enhance their well-being. Through a strong empowerment orientation, the profession pays particular attention to people vulnerable to oppression, especially as a result of racism, discrimination, prejudice, and poverty.

An important way for social workers and educators to begin advancing Indigenous education is by using empowerment-oriented practices to build strong collaborative relationships with parents, teachers, students, and school administrators. A primary agenda of collaboration must include movement away from models that seek to identify and treat individual deficits. These models are premised on the belief that the student, family, and culture are the causes of Indigenous students' low academic achievement, high drop-out rates, and nonconforming behavior. Social workers can help teachers and school administrators develop strategies for overcoming the oppressive aspects of school and community life that play such a large part in creating disappointing outcomes for Indigenous children.

Several obstacles remain in front of Indigenous education. Perhaps the most important is the painful legacy of boarding schools and the mass removal of Indigenous children from their homes. Social workers and teachers can practice empowerment-oriented social work by promoting honest and meaningful dialogues with the Indigenous peoples directly and indirectly affected by these painful legacies. To advance Indigenous education, social workers and educators must seek out narratives of Indigenous peoples to understand how these legacies continue to affect people today.

The professional education of social workers is important to advancing Indigenous education because it enables social workers to understand human behavior, and, it promotes skills, knowledge, and approaches that can work well with Indigenous peoples. Social workers can also use their understanding of social policy to analyze social problems and programs relevant to First Nations communities. The field practicum aspect of social work education enables social workers to experience direct practice situations. Students of social work who practice in Indigenous communities and agencies can help bring important cultural knowledge and understanding to schools.

Finally several micro and macro issues present obstacles to advancing Indigenous education. Social workers and teachers can use empowerment-oriented social work practices to address these concerns. The extent to which social workers can help advance Indigenous education remains to be seen. However, educators and social workers with progressive, courageous, and collaborative attitudes will make powerful contributions.

Notes

1. Michael J. Yellow Bird (Sahnish/Hidatsa) is an assistant professor in the School of Social Welfare at the University of Kansas. Venida Chenault (Prairie Band Potawatomi) is a faculty member at Haskell Indian Nations University. The authors wish to thank Priscilla Ridgway; Hilary Weaver; Francis Waukazoo; Wally Kisthardt; Dennis Saleebey; Ed Canda; Cornel Pewewardy; Pem, Mike Jr., Jason, Pete, and Matt Yellow Bird; Karen Swisher; and anonymous reviewers for helpful suggestions and comments.

2. Garcia and Ahler, "Indian Education," 13. This chapter uses the terms *Indigenous* and *First Nations peoples* to refer to the Aboriginal nations of the continental United States. The authors remind readers that Native Hawaiians and residents of U.S. territories are also Indigenous peoples; however, this chapter focuses primarily on Indigenous peoples of the 48 contiguous states. The terms are capitalized to signify their heterogeneity. The terms *Indian, American Indian,* and *Native American* are avoided because they are inaccurate and confusing colonized identities. For example, Indigenous people in the United States are not from India; therefore, they are *not* Indians. Rather, they are the descendants of the First Nations of these lands. Indigenous people are native Americans, but, so is anyone else who is born in the Americas. The authors believe this term should not be used for or by Indigenous peoples because use of the term *native* Americans cannot be restricted to mean descendants of the original peoples of the Americas. For more information on this subject, see Garcia and Ahler, "Indian Education"; Russell, *After the Fifth Sun;* and Yellow Bird, "Spirituality."

The term Indigenous peoples is a more appropriate term. *Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary* defines *indigenous* as "having originated in . . . or occurring naturally in a particular region or environment"; whereas *Indian* is defined as "a native or inhabitant of the subcontinent of India or of the East Indies." *Indigenous peoples* is an internationally accepted descriptor for descendants of the original inhabitants of the lands wherein they reside and have suffered from a history of colonization. For more information on this distinction, see Stamatopoulou, "Indigenous Peoples."

The term *First Nations* is also a more appropriate phrase because it conveys a clear political statement that such persons are the original inhabitants of the land, retaining Aboriginal title and self-government. Michael Asch notes, "The United Nations has stated that this 'right to self-determination' is held by colonized peoples everywhere in the world, and that no successor colonial regime can extinguish that right by unilateral claims to sovereignty over the same territory" ("Political Self-Sufficiency," 47). The term *First Nations* comes from tribal elders in British Columbia who believe a creator placed their nations on these lands to care for and control the lands. See reference to Assembly of First Nations in Yates and Yates, *Canada's Legal Environment.*

3. Deyhle and Swisher, "Research," 118.

4. See Robbins and others, "Theories of Empowerment."

5. See Germain and Gitterman, "Ecological Perspective."

6. Saleebey, *Strengths Perspective*, 8. For more information on empowerment, see Lee, *Empowerment Approach* and Robbins and others, "Theories of Empowerment."

7. Robbins and others, "Theories of Empowerment," 89.

8. See Miley, O'Melia, and DuBois, *Generalist Social Work Practice;* Lee, *Empowerment Approach;* Pinderhughes, "Empowerment for Our Clients"; Rose and Black, *Advocacy;* Solomon, *Black Empowerment;* Staples, "Powerful Ideas"; and Zimmerman and Rappaport, "Citizen Participation."

9. Gutierrez, "Beyond Coping," 202. See also Gutierrez, "Empowerment." Critical consciousness is "learning to perceive social, political and economic contradictions, and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality," as defined in Freire, *Pedagogy*, 17.

10. Miley, O'Melia, and DuBois, *Generalist Social Work Practice*, 84.

11. Lee, *Empowerment Approach*, 27-28.

12. See Saleebey, *Strengths Perspective*.

13. National Association of Social Workers, *Code of Ethics*, 1 (hereafter cited as NASW, *Code*).

14. Skidmore, Thackeray, and Farley, *Introduction*, 8.

15. Johnson, *Social Work Practice* (1995), 13. See also Pincus and Minahan, *Social Work Practice*.

16. See Lee, *Empowerment Approach*.

17. Gil, "Confronting Social Injustice," 233. See also Freire, *Pedagogy;* Lee, *Empowerment Approach;* Shulman, *Skills of Helping;* and Solomon, *Black Empowerment*.

18. See Attneave, "Wasted Strengths"; Deyhle and Swisher, "Research"; Bearcrane and others, "Educational Characteristics"; DuBray, "Role of Social Work"; Dykeman, Nelson, and Appleton, "Building"; Grant and Gillespie, *Joining the Circle;* Littlebear, "Getting Teachers"; Cleary and Peacock, *Collected Wisdom;* Meriam, "Effects of Boarding Schools"; Thompson, Walker, and Silk-Walker, "Psychiatric Care"; Noriega, "American Indian Education"; and Reyhner and Eder, "History of Indian Education."

19. See Yellow Bird, "Spirituality"; Adams, *Education for Extinction;* Deyhle and Swisher, "Research"; Bearcrane and others, "Educational Characteristics"; and Dykeman, Nelson, and Appleton, "Building."

20. Blauner, "Internal Colonialism," 395.

21. See Morrisette, McKenzie, and Morrisette, "Towards an Aboriginal" and Yellow Bird, "Deconstructing Colonialism."

22. See Frideres, *Native Peoples*.

23. Blauner, "Internal Colonialism," 396.

24. Cleary and Peacock, *Collected Wisdom*, 60. For more information on

the negative effects of colonialism, see Anders, "Internal Colonization"; Bee and Gingerich, "Colonialism"; Churchill, "Open Views"; Fleras and Elliot, *Nations Within;* Frideres, *Native Peoples;* Hagen, *On the Theory;* Jacobson, "Internal Colonialism"; Nafziger, "Transnational Corporations"; Snipp, "Changing"; and Wilkins, "Modernization."

25. DuBray, "Role of Social Work," 40. For more information on Indigenous drop-out rates and low school achievement, see National Center for Education Statistics, *Dropout Rates* and Swisher and Deyhle, "Research."

26. Pevar, *Rights of Indians*, 296.

27. Aboriginal Committee, *Liberating Our Children*, 63. See also Ratner, "Child Welfare" and Smith, "Young Once."

28. Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 51, 52, 54.

29. Aboriginal Committee, *Liberating Our Children*, 63.

30. De Palma, "Canada's Indigenous Tribes," A1, A3.

31. NASW, *Code*, 2.

32. Ibid., 5.

33. See Rappaport, "In Praise of Paradox."

34. NASW, *Code*, 5.

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid., 6.

37. See Saleebey, *Strengths Perspective* and Canda and Yellow Bird, "Another View."

38. NASW, *Code*, 6.

39. See Lee, *Empowerment Approach*.

40. NASW, *Code*, 6.

41. Kolevzon, "Conflict and Change," 51.

42. See Nabigon and Mawhinney, "Aboriginal Theory."

43. Haynes and Holmes, *Invitation*, 227.

44. See Summers and Yellow Bird, "Building Relationships."

45. Lum, *Social Work Practice* (1996), 3.

46. See Zastrow, *Practice of Social Work*.

47. Lum, *Social Work Practice* (1996), 7-8.

48. See Miley, O'Melia, and DuBois, *Generalist Social Work Practice*.

49. Sheafor, Horejsi, and Horejsi, *Techniques*, 16-27.

50. See Gutierrez, "Beyond Coping."

51. See Gutierrez, "Working with Women" and Lee, *Empowerment Approach*.

52. NASW, *Code*, 1.

53. For more information on the relationship between parents and teachers, see Baruth and Manning, "Understanding"; Cummins, "Empower-

ment of Indian Students"; Dykeman, Nelson, and Appleton, "Building"; Littlebear, "Getting Teachers"; Lum, *Social Work Practice* (1986); and Deyhle and Swisher, "Research."

54. Deyhle and Swisher, "Research," 127. See also Wehlage and Rutter, "Dropping Out."

55. Deyhle and Swisher, "Research," 120.

56. Cummins, "Empowerment of Indian Students," 5. See also Baruth and Manning, "Understanding"; Deyhle and Swisher, "Research"; Grant and Gillespie, *Joining the Circle;* Littlebear, "Getting Teachers"; and Reyhner, "Adapting Curriculum."

57. See McMahon, *General Method.*

58. Baruth and Manning, "Understanding"; Dykeman, Nelson, and Appleton, "Building"; Gilliland, *Teaching the Native American;* Littlebear, "Getting Teachers"; and Lum, *Social Work Practice* (1996).

59. Grant and Gillespie, *Joining the Circle,* 43.

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PART III

THE COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY EXPERIENCE

CHAPTER 10

American Indians and Alaska Natives in Higher Education

Promoting Access and Achievement

D. MICHAEL PAVEL[1]

American Indian and Alaska Native people are deeply concerned with postsecondary access and achievement, and they are not alone.[2] Improving American Indian access to and achievement in higher education is part of a national agenda to diversify our colleges and universities[3] and is supported by specific initiatives intended to serve the Native community.[4] Overall, the higher education community and the general public must continue to address a legacy of American Indian underrepresentation in higher education as our society strives to move closer to developing democratic and integrated multicultural colleges and universities. By doing so, we as a nation strengthen ourselves to confront the social, cultural, and economic issues that affect all our lives.

To address these issues over time, it is important to determine periodically how well American Indians are gaining access to and achieving in the postsecondary arena. This chapter draws upon extensive literature including a national study describing the characteristics of American Indian K-12 education[5] and a source book on

American Indians in higher education that examines demographics, access, enrollment, degrees conferred, financial aid, faculty representation, tribal colleges, and policy implications.[9]

The chapter begins with an overview of American Indian access to higher education, presenting data on precollege attributes such as admission test scores, core curriculum course completion, and college admissions criteria. This collection of *precollege attribute* data is balanced by an examination of the possible influences of school and environmental attributes on postsecondary access. American Indian achievement in higher education is examined using national data on enrollment and degrees conferred, in addition to persistence and graduation rates at various types of institutions by size and source of control. The chapter reviews the literature to identify actions that promote American Indian achievement in higher education and concludes with comments on an overall strategy to improve American Indian postsecondary access and achievement.

Access to Higher Education

The National Educational Longitudinal Study (NELS:88) of eighth-grade students, which began in 1988, found that American Indians are less likely to be college bound than other prominent groups in the United States. For example, while American Indians represented 0.8 percent of the total sample, only 0.4 percent were college bound; among White (non-Hispanic) students, who represented 74 percent of the total sample, 80 percent were college bound. Myriad reasons exist for this discrepancy. This section examines precollege attributes of American Indian students in tandem with *school and environmental* attributes to understand better the factors that influence movement from high school to college.

Precollege attributes. College admission test scores, core curriculum course completion, and the proportion of students meeting certain college admissions criteria provide some insight into higher education access issues for American Indians. Two predominant college admission tests administered to precollege students are the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) and the American College Test (ACT). As shown in Table 1, overall scores among American Indians generally lag behind the nation in both tests. Although scores rose between 1987 and 1997, on average, American Indians consistently were 74 to 66 points lower on the combined verbal and mathematical SAT scores and 2.0 to 2.2 points lower than the ACT national average.

Table 1. Comparison of American Indian SAT and ACT Scores by National Norms: 1987, 1996, and 1997[7]

	SAT Scores			ACT Scores		
Group	1987	1996	1997	1987	1996	1997
All Students/National Average	1008	1013	1016	20.6	20.8	21.0
American Indian	934	960	950	18.4	18.8	19.0

American Indian students also appear to rank below the U.S. average in completion of core curricula for high school graduation. As shown in Table 2, only 26 percent of the American Indians did so in 1990 and 31 percent in 1992. This compares to 40 percent of the total U.S. population in 1990 and 47 percent in 1992. While the percentage of American Indian students completing a core curriculum increased by 5 percent between the two periods, these increases are still 14 to 16 percent lower than the total sample.

Additional analysis of NELS:88 data indicates that most American Indian college-bound high school graduates do not meet any of the five specific criteria identified as being important to college admissions officers. For example, only 5 percent of the American Indians had a grade point average of 3.5, compared to 19 percent of the students nationwide. Just 2 percent of the American Indians had

Table 2. Comparison of Percentage of American Indians Completing a Core Curriculum for High School Graduation to Total Sample: 1990 and 1992[8]

	Percent Completing Core Curriculum	
Group	1990	1992
Total Sample	40%	47%
American Indian	26%	31%

a combined SAT of 1,100 or better, compared to 22 percent of all college-bound high school graduates. Approximately 25 percent of the American Indians received positive teacher responses to a series of survey questions, compared to 42 percent of all students. About 58 percent of the American Indian students did participate in two or more extracurricular activities; however, this compares to 68 percent of the total sample. The analysis also reveals that only 24 percent of the American Indian high school graduates completed a college preparation curriculum, compared to 56 percent of all college-bound high school graduates in the sample.

At first glance, per-college attribute data reveal some gains, but they still suggest an inability of American Indian students to perform well on standardized tests and to meet important admission criteria. It is not surprising that they are underrepresented in the higher education arena, which relies on test scores and academically related criteria to screen access and predict success. The problem could, then, be fixed if we got American Indians to do better on standardized tests and to meet important admission criteria that we expect of all Americans.

While attractive on a surface level, the strategy of simply "fixing the American Indian" is unacceptable. This personal-deficit approach does not adequately address the overall complexity of issues that conspire to undermine attempts by American Indians to gain access to postsecondary institutions. Evidence suggests college test scores and academic criteria such as high school grade point averages are not powerful predictors of college success among American Indians.[9] Although it can be helpful to consider such factors, it is still necessary to broaden our scope to include appropriate attributes at the heart of preparing American Indian students for pursuing a higher education degree. Better indicators of success would be the school and environmental attributes that determine the quality of schooling American Indians receive throughout their K-12 experience.

School and environmental attributes. A 1997 report, which uses American Indian data collected through the Schools and Staffing Survey (SASS), provides another vantage point for examining school and environmental attributes that might influence postsecondary access among American Indian students.[10] SASS is an integrated survey of American schools, school districts, principals, teachers, and student records that includes an oversample of schools funded or operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) and public schools with high percentages of Indian student enrollment. The SASS database is unique because characterizing the national extent of education services received by American Indian students is not easy and is rarely attempted.

The small size of the American Indian population (approximately one percent of the U.S. population) has meant that these students and the school personnel who serve them are almost never represented in sufficient numbers in national education studies to permit reliable and valid generalizations about their characteristics. Furthermore, tribal and linguistic diversity, geographic dispersion, and the tendency of American Indians to reside in remote rural areas have made national studies of this population very costly and beyond the reach of most education researchers. However, the Indian supplement to the ongoing SASS data collection program represents an important effort by the U.S. Department of Education to explain to educators and policy makers many of the issues that confront the schools, administrators, and teachers serving American Indian students.

Using SASS data, a recent study finds that 10 percent of all American Indian students attend schools funded or operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (hereafter referred to as BIA/tribal schools) and that 36 percent attend public schools where American Indians constitute 25 percent or more of the total student enrollment (hereafter referred to as high-Indian-enrollment public schools).[11] Nearly all of these schools are small (less than 500 students) and located in rural areas of the United States. This combination of school size and location presents unique challenges when examining postsecondary access issues. For example, educational costs per student are typically higher for rural schools, prohibiting the implementation of advanced or college preparatory classes, while economic and social features such as poverty and low educational attainment among adults may contribute to students not achieving their academic potential. However, small schools also offer potential benefits not enjoyed by larger institutions. Studies conclude that drop-out rates are lower, teaching is more effective, and fewer behavior problems arise in smaller schools.[12]

The quality of students' high school experiences that cultivate postsecondary aspirations and intentions is determined, in large part, by the learning environment that principals and teachers are instrumental in creating. As noted by the Indian Nations At Risk Task Force and White House Conference on Indian Education, a critical need exists to increase the number of qualified American Indian administrators and teachers who can serve as positive role models and who possess knowledge of Indian traditions, cultures, and learning styles. In the 1993-94 school year, only 47 percent of the principals in BIA/tribal schools (where nearly all students are American Indians) and just 13 percent of the principals in high-Indian-enrollment public schools were American Indians. Sixty-six percent of the BIA principals and 29 percent of the public school principals had received training in Indian education administration. Such training could enhance program development and community relationships designed to meet the needs of American Indian students. Only 38 percent of the teachers in BIA/tribal schools and 15 percent of the teachers in high-Indian-enrollment public schools were American Indians; nationally very few teachers reported they had majored or minored in Indian education (0.05 percent), and even in BIA/tribal schools, only 2 percent held a college major or minor in this area.

The serious issues facing schools in which American Indians constitute a significant percentage of the student body can provide additional insights into learning environments. More than 40 percent of all principals and teachers in BIA/tribal schools and high-Indian-enrollment public schools reported that poverty was a serious problem in their communities. Poverty and the associated lack of social services in rural areas probably contributed to additional problems identified as serious (parental alcohol and drug abuse, lack of parental involvement, student absenteeism, and student apathy) by 25 to 40 percent of principals and teachers. These statistics are not indictments, but too many resonate throughout Indian country for us to ignore the important and far-reaching impact that good schools and educated youth can have upon our communities.

Achievement in Higher Education

This section examines postsecondary enrollment, degrees conferred, and graduation and persistence rates at various types of institutions, and presents findings that promote campus climates conducive to American Indian achievement in higher education. American Indians appear less likely to enroll in four-year institutions compared to the national norm. As shown in Table 3, between 1993 and 1995, the percentage of American Indians enrolled in public and private four-year institutions ranged from 48.1 to 50.0 percent: enrollment in public and private two-year institutions ranged from 50.0 to 51.9 percent. However, the national norm favored enrollment in four-year over two-year institutions, with approximately 61 percent attending four-year schools. These findings suggest American Indians are not on parity with the rest of the nation in achieving enrollment in four-year degree institutions that may provide better opportunities for employment and graduate education.

Table 3. Comparison of American Indians to Total Percentage Enrolled in Postsecondary Institutions by Selected Characteristic: 1993, 1994, and 1995[11]

	Year of Enrollment					
	1993		1994		1995	
Selected Characteristic	American Indian	Total	American Indian	Total	American Indian	Total
Men	42.1%	44.9%	41.6%	44.6%	41.7%	44.5%
Women	57.9%	55.1%	58.4%	55.4%	58.3%	55.5%
Public 4-year	37.7%	40.9%	37.3%	40.8%	38.7%	40.8%
Public 2-year	49.7%	37.3%	49.6%	37.2%	48.0%	37.0%
Private 4-year	10.4%	20.2%	10.7%	20.5%	11.3%	20.7%
Private 2-year	2.2%	1.6%	2.4%	1.5%	2.0%	1.5%
Undergraduate	92.6%	86.2%	92.2%	85.9%	91.9%	85.8%
Graduate	6.0%	11.8%	6.4%	12.1%	6.5%	12.1%
Professional	1.4%	2.0%	1.4%	2.1%	1.6%	2.1%

As shown in Table 4, American Indians also are underrepresented among those who have completed a bachelor's degree program: of the total number of bachelor's degrees awarded in 1994-95, only 0.6 percent were awarded to American Indians. A longitudinal study of American Indians who were high school sophomores in 1980 found 58 percent eventually completed high school while only 7 percent received a bachelor's degree; 0.5 percent had obtained a master's degree by 1992. Among a sample of American Indian students in a longitudinal study of beginning postsecondary students who enrolled for the first time in 1989-90, only 16 percent had received a bachelor's degree by spring 1994 (28 percent were not enrolled and had no degree).

Table 4. Comparison of Number of Degrees Awarded to Total Sample and to American Indians: 1994-95[14]

	Total Sample	American Indian	
Degree	Number	Number	Percent
Associate	539,691	5,492	1.0%
Bachelor's	1,160,134	6,606	0.6%
Master's	397,629	1,621	0.4%
Doctorate	44,446	130	0.3%
Professional	75,800	412	0.5%
Total	2,217,700	14,261	0.6%

Graduation and persistence rates. Graduation and persistence rates give some indication of how well American Indians are achieving in higher education.[illegible] A 1996 study by the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) found that about 35 percent of the American Indians who entered as first-time, full-time freshmen graduated within six years. As shown in Table 5, graduation rates at NCAA Division I schools vary depending on size and control. The lowest percentage of American Indians graduating within six years is at small public institutions (25 percent in 1995 and 28 percent in 1996); the highest graduation rate occurs in large private institutions (56 percent). Overall, American Indian students are far less likely to graduate in six years as compared to the general student population.

Table 5. Comparison of American Indian Six-Year Graduation Rates to Total Sample for Division I Institutions by Size and Control

	Size and Control							
	Small Public		Large Public		Small Private		Large Private	
Group	1995	1996	1995	1996	1995	1996	1995	1996
Total Sample	41%	56%	56%	57%	65%	65%	72%	71%
American Indian	25%	28%	33%	35%	45%	44%	56%	56%
Difference	-16%	-28%	-23%	-22%	-21%	-21%	-26%	-25%

As shown in Table 6, the one-year persistence rate at Division II public institutions for first-time, full-time American Indian freshmen was 54 percent for the 1993-94 cohort; the three-year persistence rate was 33 percent for the 1991-92 cohort. These rates were 14 to 16 percent lower than the total average. The one- and three-year persistence rates at Division II private institutions for first-time, full-time American Indian freshmen were similar (56 percent and 33 percent, respectively) but 17 and 21 percent lower than the total average.

First-time, full-time American Indian freshmen appear to fare better at Division III institutions, with one- and three-year persistence rates at public institutions being 64 percent and 46 percent, respectively, and slightly higher at private institutions, with a one-year persistence rate of 69 percent and a three-year persistence rate of 49 percent. However, American Indian one- and three-year persistence rates at public Division III institutions were still 12 and 14 percent lower than the average of the total sample, and at private institutions, the rates were 12 and 18 percent lower.

Promoting postsecondary achievement. Higher education institutions can make a wide variety of interrelated efforts to improve American Indian postsecondary achievement. On one hand, the federal government is an instrumental partner in increasing American Indian postsecondary achievement because of treaty obligations. On the other hand, it is up to the tribes, states, and institutions within those states to sustain worthwhile efforts that will result in measurable improvements.

Table 6. American Indian Freshmen One-Year and Three-Year Persistence Rates for Divisions II and III Institutions by Institutional Control[17]

	Division II				Division III			
	Public		Private		Public		Private	
Group	1-year 1993-94	3-year 91-92	1-year 1993-94	3-year 91-92	1-year 1993-94	3-year 91-92	1-year 1993-94	3-year 91-92
Total Sample	68%	49%	73%	54%	76%	60%	81%	67%
American Indian	54%	33%	56%	33%	64%	46%	69%	49%
Difference	-14%	-16%	-17%	-21%	-12%	-14%	-12%	-18%

To promote satisfactory transition from high school to college, state governments and postsecondary institutions need to promote K-16 partnerships with tribal communities to elevate the overall level of precollege academic preparation, postsecondary aspirations, and postsecondary orientation of American Indian students. A national assessment of American Indian postsecondary departure is in agreement, finding that weak postsecondary intentions and the lack of ability to integrate social and academic systems both formally and informally, into the college campus, adversely influence postsecondary outcomes.[19]

In response, both the Indian Nations At Risk Task Force and the National Advisory Council on Indian Education received testimony requesting resources to help American Indians become more aware of postsecondary opportunities and better prepared for the academic and social rigors of attending college. Culturally specific academic and student support services are needed once the student gets into college.[20] If services are provided, it is important to ensure that American Indians use and are satisfied with these services,[21] hopefully reducing their anxiety levels enough to find comfortable niches on campus.[22]

Mentoring programs and sufficient financial aid should be made available to American Indian students at postsecondary institutions. The institution should blend linear and holistic thinking within the classroom. At the same time, the campus community can look beyond overt racism and discrimination in a more concerted effort to motivate students to put forth the effort needed to succeed. Institutional policies to improve American Indian postsecondary achievement should spell out the need for multicultural and relevant education that spawns reciprocity in faculty-student interactions.[23] To improve outcomes for American Indian students, institutions of higher education have to cultivate enduring academic advisor-advisee and intellectual mentor-mentee relationships. These faculty-student relationships should be characterized by caring attitudes conveyed through good communication skills, likable personalities, a willingness to learn cultural norms, respectful interactions, appreciation for different ways of knowing, and high expectations.[24]

Some colleges and universities have already responded to the challenge of improving American Indian access and achievement in higher education.[25] Tribal colleges, in particular, are exemplary in developing recruitment, retention, and campus environments that facilitate American Indian student achievement.[26] Paul Boyer's report on the tribal colleges finds that "research, site visits, accreditation reports, and government audits all confirm their effectiveness. Tribal colleges have proven their ability to enroll students who were not served by higher education, to graduate students who have dropped out of other institutions, and to sponsor successful community development programs."[27]

Another study demonstrates that tribal college personnel know and readily accept their roles in serving a wide variety of needs within the community.[28] The expanded nature of this target population results in programming designed to reach the populations that need to be served. The service population includes students with a wide variety of characteristics: learning disabilities, low academic confidence, a desire but inability (due to conflicting demands) to make contact with college staff, the initiative to take advantage of services offered by the college to further their education, the need to participate in training and workshops, interest in one or two particular courses, and aspirations and commitment to obtain a college degree.

On the reservation, being able to initiate a conversation with somebody who is functionally illiterate is as meaningful to the tribal college staff as being able to clarify a program of study for a student who enrolls in a degree program. Although this may not be reflected in institutional enrollment records, tribal college staff nonetheless gain a deep sense of personal satisfaction when reaching out to serve people in need, regardless of the need. Whether a person needs somebody to read something to them or guidance on how to get fully enrolled in a degree program, access is promoted and achieved by tribal college personnel. Faculty and staff in these institutions are impressive in that they care about, encourage, and attend to the developmental needs of students and their families in such a way that it becomes institutionalized and personalized. This spirit of giving provides fertile ground for a growing sense of optimism among tribal members.

Many non-Indian institutions have also strived to meet the needs of tribal communities and American Indian college students. Early outreach by these institutions evolves into long-term relationships with secondary schools and tribal communities. Often the number of alumni from particular tribal communities increases, and alumni play a vital role in promoting student and faculty organizations that advance the institution's mission to serve American Indian students and communities. Beneficial activities include academic programs and student support services that provide employment opportunities; grant support; technical support; culturally sensitive counseling; cultural support networks; scholarly opportunities; and the chance to interact with faculty about substantive issues regarding American Indians past, present, and future. Exemplary institutions try to establish family relationships with the American Indian people.

Important strides are being made to address the needs of American Indians in different disciplines. In the field of education, various observers have called for learning about American Indian students and families through immersion into and experience with communities;[29] creation of nontraditional admissions policies and instructional delivery;[30] work with tribal governments;[31] and emphasis on hiring knowledgeable personnel and providing professional development.[32] Institutions like Haskell Indian Nations University and Diné College have developed programs that use the best practices in teacher education and incorporate valuable knowledge about Indian education, learning styles, and culturally appropriate curricular materials.[33]

However, teacher education is not alone in showing growth in positive outcomes for American Indian students. Programs in psychology recruit and retain promising students through culturally appropriate, sensitive programs and outreach[14] and develop relevant curricula complemented by job placement services.[15] Business programs are beginning to see the value of working with tribal economic development strategies.[16] The science, mathematics, and engineering fields have become more familiar with specific needs among American Indians,[17] assessing enrollment and completion trends,[18] and offering summer institutes and undergraduate and graduate research/support programs.[19]

Conclusion

As we embark upon each school year, concerned educators should review American Indian access to and achievement in higher education. Improvement in these areas will require federal, state, and tribal governments to collaborate on an agenda to increase the number of American Indian students who enter into and graduate from college. Several initiatives can arise from such collaboration: partnerships that link schools serving American Indians to businesses so students can explore and get training in various career opportunities, schools that work with tribal communities to increase parental involvement and community empowerment in determining the mission and scope of the school, and higher education communities that collaborate with American Indian communities to address barriers to advancing the postsecondary recruitment and retention of American Indian students.

Schools and postsecondary institutions have established policies that clearly articulate a commitment to meet the intellectual and cultural needs of American Indian students. Academic disciplines have been successful in creating comfortable academic and social environments while reaching out to tribal communities to find out what needs to be addressed and increasing the pool of prospective American Indian applicants. Within the big picture, all these initiatives (small and large) are brought together by a level of sincerity and commitment that strives to fundamentally change the education system to better meet the needs of all American citizens, including American Indians.

Notes

1. D. Michael Pavel (Skokomish) is an assistant professor in the College of Education at Washington State University.

2. From this point, the term *American Indian* is inclusive of Eskimos, Aleuts, and other Alaska Natives. At times, "Indian" or "Native" might be used to refer to American Indians and Alaska Natives.

3. See Bennett, *Research on Racial Issues*; Justiz, *Minorities in Higher Education*; Richardson and Skinner, *Achieving Quality and Diversity*; and Shom, *Minority Access to Higher Education*.

4. Indian Nations At Risk Task Force, *Indian Nations At Risk*; Native Education Initiative, *Promising Programs*; and White House Conference on Indian Education, "Executive Summary."

5. See National Center for Education Statistics, *Characteristics*.

6. See National Center for Education Statistics, *American Indians and Alaska Natives in Postsecondary Education*.

7. Figures were derived from the World Wide Web sites for the SAT (http://www.collegeboard.org) and ACT (http://www.act.org). Combined verbal and mathematics scores on the SAT range from 400 to 1,600, and the composite scores on the ACT range from 1 to 36.

8. National Center for Education Statistics, *Condition of Education*, 78. The core curriculum includes four credits in English, three in science, three in mathematics, three in social studies, and two in a foreign language.

9. See Baeza, *Test Item Bias*.

10. See National Center for Education Statistics, *Characteristics*.

11. Ibid.

12. Raywid, *Current Literature on Small Schools*, 2.

13. The author generated these findings from the National Center for Education Statistics, "Fall Enrollment Surveys."

14. Ibid.

15. See Shoemaker, *Graduate Activity Survey*.

16. National Collegiate Athletic Association, *1995 NCAA Division I Graduation Rates Report*, 616-17, 624-25 and *1996 NCAA Division I Graduation Rates Report*, 622-23, 630-31, 636-37. The 1995 four-class average graduation rate includes those who entered as freshmen in 1985-86, 1986-87, 1987-88, and 1988-89, and graduated within six years. The 1996 four-class average graduation rate includes those who entered as freshmen in 1986-87, 1987-88, 1988-89, and 1989-90, and graduated within six years. Large public and private institutions are those enrolling more than 3,500 students.

17. National Collegiate Athletic Association, *1994 NCAA Division II and III Enrollment and Persistence Rates Report*, 13-14 and *1995 NCAA Division II and III Enrollment and Persistence Rates Report*, 13-14. A persistence rate

is based on a comparison of the number of students who started college as first-time, full-time students in a given year (one-year in 1993-94 and 3-year in 1990-91) and the number of those who reenrolled as full-time students in fall of the following year.

18. See Curley, *Future Directions*; Kleinfeld, Gorsuch, and Kerr, *Minorities in Education*; LaCounte and others, *A Plan for American Indian Education*; Minnesota Private College Research Foundation, *Divided We Fall*; Morin, *State Legislation*; New York State Education Department, *Higher Education Opportunity Programs*; Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education, *Student Transfer Matrix*; and White-Tail Feather, Reed, and Zelio, *State-Tribal Legislation*.

19. See Pavel and Padilla, *American Indian and Alaska Native Postsecondary Departure*.

20. See Minner and others, *Benefits of Cultural Immersion Activities*.

21. See Fogel and Yaffe, *Ethnic Minority*; Dodd and others, *American Indian Student Retention*.

22. Gupta, *Comparison of Anxiety* and Steward, *Two Faces of Academic Success*.

23. See Kirkness and Barnhardt, "First Nations and Higher Education" and Weasel Head, *Learning Styles*.

24. See Gordon, *Academic Advising*.

25. See Pavel, Swisher, and Ward, "Special Focus."

26. See Bad Wound, "Teaching to Empower"; Cross, "Every Teacher a Researcher"; Darden and others, "Segregation of American Indian Undergraduate Students"; and St. Cyr, "Recruiting at Indian Tribal Colleges."

27. Boyer, *Native American Colleges*, 2.

28. See Pavel, *Postsecondary Access*.

29. See Noordhoff and Kleinfeld, *Preparing Teachers for Multicultural Classrooms*.

30. See Grant, "University Reaches Out" and Martin, *Ku'atindee Bino Community Teacher Education Program*.

31. See Shonerd, *Recruiting and Retaining Native Americans*.

32. See Indian Nations At Risk Task Force, *Indian Nations At Risk* and Noley, *Native and Non-Native Teachers*.

33. See Swisher, "Haskell Indian Nations University Model" and Upvall, "Completing the Circle."

34. See McDonald, "New Frontiers in Clinical Training."

35. See Marshall and others, "Multiculturalism and Rehabilitation Counselor Training."

36. See Smith, "The Issue of Compatibility."

37. See Colby, "Broadening the Scope" and Haller and Aitken, *Mashkiki*.

38. See Campbell and others, *Minority Graduation Rates*; Denton, *Minority Medical School Enrollment*; Friedman, "Minorities in Engineering

School"; Matthews, *Underrepresented Minorities*; and Watts and Lecca, "Native Americans and Minority Access."

39. See Caple and others, "Creating a 'Leak-Proof' Minority Pipeline"; Morrison and Williams, *Minority Engineering Programs*; Oros, "Indian Natural Resource, Science and Engineering Program" and "Prescription for Success"; and Sweeney, "INMED Prepares American Indians."

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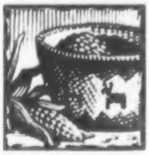
CHAPTER 11



Tribal Colleges: 1968-1998

WAYNE J. STEIN[1]

Tribally controlled colleges are continuing on their 30-year journey of exploration, initiative, and development, which began the summer of 1968 with the founding of Navajo Community College (now Diné College) in Tsaile, Arizona. Tribal colleges can be described as small tenacious institutions of higher education that serve the smallest and poorest minority group in the United States (American Indians) under difficult and challenging circumstances. These colleges are underfunded, overworked, and viewed by the rest of American higher education with some wonder at their ability not only to survive, but to survive with panache.

The development work done by the presidents of the tribal colleges and by the American Indian Higher Education Consortium (AIHEC), the national organization of tribal colleges, has been innovative and productive. Twenty-five years of persistent labor and cooperation have recently culminated in the development of two additional strong support systems for tribal colleges. These are the Kellogg Foundation's $22 million tribal college initiative program, Capturing the Dream, and the passage of Public Law 103-32, the *Equity in Education Land-Grant Status Act* (1994). The land-grant legislation will help to preserve and expand a solid programmatic and financial base for all tribal colleges.[2]

Tribal Colleges[1]

Bay Mills Community College, Brimley, Michigan
Blackfeet Community College, Browning, Montana
Cankdeska Cikana Community College (formerly Little Hoop Community College), Fort Totten, North Dakota
Cheyenne River Community College, Eagle Butte, South Dakota
College of the Menominee Nation, Keshena, Wisconsin
Crownpoint Institute of Technology, Crownpoint, New Mexico
Diné College (formerly Navajo Community College), Tsaile, Arizona
D-Q University, Davis, California
Dull Knife Memorial College, Lame Deer, Montana
Fond du Lac Tribal and Community College, Cloquet, Minnesota
Fort Belknap College, Harlem, Montana
Fort Berthold Community College, New Town, North Dakota
Fort Peck Community College, Poplar, Montana
Haskell Indian Nations University, Lawrence, Kansas
Institute of American Indian Arts, Santa Fe, New Mexico
Lac Courte Oreilles Ojibwa Community College, Hayward, Wisconsin
Leech Lake Tribal College, Cass Lake, Minnesota
Little Big Horn College, Crow Agency, Montana
Little Priest Tribal College, Winnebago, Nebraska
Nebraska Indian Community College, Macy, Nebraska
Northwest Indian College, Bellingham, Washington
Oglala Lakota College, Kyle, South Dakota
Salish Kootenai College, Pablo, Montana
Sinte Gleska University, Rosebud, South Dakota
Sisseton Wahpeton Community College, Sisseton, South Dakota
Sitting Bull College, Fort Yates, North Dakota
Southwestern Indian Polytechnic Institute, Albuquerque, New Mexico
Stone Child Community College, Box Elder, Montana
Turtle Mountain Community College, Belcourt, North Dakota
United Tribes Technical College, Bismarck, North Dakota

To understand the true nature of tribal colleges, one must study their histories, missions, participants, and structures.[3] Potential benefits of such a study were acknowledged when the Kellogg Foundation convened a gathering of higher education administrators in

Albuquerque, New Mexico, in February 1996 to explore the Capturing the Dream initiative. The consensus of the participants was that everyone in higher education had much to learn from these newest members of the higher education community. The nontribal college administrators present agreed that the ability to serve students and communities under very difficult circumstances holds many lessons for other higher education institutions. Such service has come with a price, but it is one that those who make up the tribal college movement are willing to pay.

History

American Indian education, like so much of the Indian world, had been destroyed by the time of the twentieth century and replaced with an education system designed and managed by European Americans to convert Indians into pale-brown imitations of themselves. It took the upheaval of the mid-twentieth century—with the Great Depression of the 1930s, World War II in the 1940s, and the Civil Rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s—coupled with more enlightened legislation concerning American Indians to lay the groundwork for change in American Indian education. But serious change for American Indian education began when councilmen Guy Gorman and Allen Yazzie, Navajo Nation chairman Raymond Nakai, and educators such as Ned Hatathli, Robert Roessel, and Ruth Roessel founded Diné, Inc. with the intention of taking control of the education of Navajo students. Higher education was one area of Indian education that the founders of Diné, Inc. desired to affect immediately. An attrition rate of 90 percent or more experienced by Navajo students attending off-reservation colleges demanded innovative solutions. The participants in Diné, Inc. began exploring the possibility of a community college for the Navajo people.[5] The idea for a tribal college had been put forth before, as recently as the 1950s, by Robert Burnette of the Rosebud Sioux (Sicangu Lakota), but lack of human and fiscal resources forced him to postpone the dream of a tribal college on Rosebud for some 20 years.[6]

The 1960s were an era of exciting expansion in higher education, with community colleges playing a major role. Toward the end of the decade, a new community college opened its doors each week somewhere in the United States. Within this historical tradition, tribally controlled colleges made their appearance on the U.S. higher education scene.

Tribal colleges are in many ways different from nontribal community colleges; some have even grown to be more than two-year colleges by adding selected four-year programs to their curricula. While their missions are similar, tribal colleges are unique. They are the only colleges in the world to support and teach curricula, cultures, and languages of their Indian nations. Tribal colleges must work more closely than other institutions with the federal government to secure base funding, and they have become experts at engaging the federal system to ensure their continued existence. However, it was what the community college movement represented that led the founders of the tribally controlled colleges' movement to choose this precise model of higher education as the most appropriate to meet their people's needs.[8]

Today the tribal colleges and their sister non-Indian institutions generally remain separate in the political, educational, and fiscal arenas, but not in spirit. An atmosphere of mutual trust and appreciation does exist between the two systems.[9]

The founding of Navajo Community College in July 1968 broke the ground for a number of other individuals across Indian country to establish colleges. The 31 tribal colleges currently operating across the United States and Canada demonstrate the success of the tribal college movement.

American Indian Higher Education Consortium (AIHEC)

Leaders of the fledgling movement recognized in 1972 that unity among the small number of tribally controlled colleges was essential to promoting the tribal colleges as viable options for Indian people in higher education. They also understood that a united front allowed them to reach their goals as a movement more easily and help limit the natural tendencies of tribal rivalries and differences to create havoc within this unique movement. Thus, the American Indian Higher Education Consortium (AIHEC) was born of political necessity.[10]

AIHEC has played numerous roles as the national representative of tribal colleges over the 26 years of its existence. Possibly its most important role has been that of advocate in Washington, D.C., for the tribally controlled colleges, charged with securing and maintaining the principal funding source of the colleges. The tribal colleges interact with the federal government much as state-supported institutions do with their state governments. AIHEC's greatest achievement to date was convincing Congress and President Carter in 1978 that funding the tribal colleges was part of the federal government's trust responsibility based upon American Indian treaty agreements with the government. The *Tribally Controlled Community College Assistance Act* (TCCC) of 1978, known familiarly as the Tribal College Act, has had a stabilizing influence on the tribal college movement. Implementation of the act meant the difference between life and death for a number of the fiscally stressed tribal colleges. One of the greatest disappointments is that the federal government has never funded the tribal colleges at the level authorized in the Tribal College Act but has continually underfunded them in its annual appropriations to the colleges.

Funding

The 1983 congressional reauthorization of the Tribal College Act allots $5,280 per American Indian FTE (full-time equivalent student). Based on the Consumer Price Index over the past decade, the authorization should now be $8,450 per FTE to keep pace with inflation. Either figure is considerably higher than the actual amount of $2,900 per FTE appropriated in the 1996 federal budget. To keep the funding of tribal colleges in perspective, these figures need to be compared to the national average cost for mainstream nonresident community colleges (that is, without dormitories)—approximately $7,000 per FTE, according to the National Association of Colleges and Business Officers.[11]

The tribal colleges do seek funding vigorously from a number of other federal agencies and sources (other than the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the *Tribally Controlled Community College Assistance Act* funds). They look to philanthropic organizations such as the Kellogg Foundation and corporate foundations such as U.S. West; they also have established their own foundation, the Tribal College Fund. These funds are targeted to specific tasks outlined by the individual colleges and are generally competed for by tribal colleges and other institutions of higher education.

These additional funds can be instrumental in carrying forward much needed educational programs within tribal colleges. A recent $12 million grant awarded by the National Science Foundation to Oglala Lakota College and Sinte Gleska University for a five-year period illustrates the value of such supplementary funding. Oglala Lakota College will develop a bachelor of science degree in environmental science; Sinte Gleska University will develop a bachelor of science degree in computer science with a software engineering emphasis. Sinte Gleska is also creating a two-year degree program in basic engineering.[illegible]

Tribal college boards of trustees are a reflection of their communities. All tribal colleges are controlled by boards of trustees that comprise nearly 100 percent local American Indian community members. These boards act as buffers between tribal politics and the colleges, and also act as mediators among policy makers, personnel selection committees, and local watchdogs of and for the tribal colleges. These important responsibilities make tribal college boards of trustees unique in Indian country because of their autonomous authority as granted by the college charters. Most American Indian decision-making entities (including tribal governing councils) must seek the approval of the Secretary of the Interior for their important decisions; tribal college boards of trustees do not. However, board members do keep in mind how their decisions will impact their communities and long-term relations with their chartering tribal governments.

Administrators and faculty of tribal colleges are a mixture of American Indians and non-Indians. Most administrators are American Indian, but most faculty members are non-Indian. Whatever the race of tribal college administrators or faculty members, the strongest characteristic of both groups is dedication to the students and the missions of colleges. The accreditation associations evaluating the tribal colleges, in almost every report made over the past 20 years, have written about the importance of the dedicated administrators and faculty.

Faculty problems experienced by tribally controlled colleges generally fall into three main areas. First is the difficulty in finding and keeping science and mathematics instructors. Second is the high turnover among faculty, who often find life on Indian reservations too isolated and culturally different. Third and toughest to solve is the fact that, as the colleges mature and student populations grow, salaries generally remain low. The issue of underfunding is serious, and nowhere is it more serious than in recruiting, hiring, and keeping good faculty, administrators, and support staff.

Curricula

Tribal colleges pay particular attention to developing curricula and programs in response to tribal community needs. A typical academic and teaching curriculum offered today at a tribal college would comprise two-year associate degrees in arts, science, and applied science and one-year certification programs.

Associate of arts degrees are academic programs designed to prepare students who intend to further their education by transferring to a four-year higher education institution. Typical areas of study include general studies, business administration, tribal or Native American studies, and the social sciences.

Associate of science degrees are also designed to prepare students wishing to transfer to four-year colleges or universities upon completion of their education at a tribal college. Typical courses of study are business administration, health sciences, and pre-engineering.

Associate of applied science degrees combine practical course work and general education, designed to prepare students for immediate entry into the work world the day after graduation. Typical disciplines for associate of applied science degrees would be human services, computer science and information systems, tribal language arts, office technology, and tribal administrative practices.

One-year certificate programs are designed by the tribal colleges to respond to local community employment opportunities. Students are taught within a sharply focused vocational program with much hands-on practical experience. Such programs are as wide-ranging and diverse as the communities and tribal colleges that create them. General office skills, health sciences, hospitality, automotive trade skills, and manufacturing assembly are examples of certificate programs from just one tribal college.[13]

Four tribal colleges, Sinte Gleska University, Oglala Lakota College, Haskell Indian Nations University, and Salish Kootenai College, have established four-year baccalaureate programs in human resources, social sciences, and education. Sinte Gleska University has also developed and received accreditation for the first tribal college master's degree program in education. This achievement marks a major stride by tribal colleges in curriculum development, considering the financial hardships and isolation they have endured. This growth is dramatic because in 1972 Sinte Gleska University (then Sinte Gleska College) offered only 22 courses in scattered disciplines from psychology to math, with 13 administrators and faculty making up the college staff.[11]

AIHEC has identified a goal that every tribal college should obtain full accreditation from its respective sanctioning agency. Each college has had to travel the accreditation path alone, but morale and expertise have been shared liberally among AIHEC members to the benefit of all tribal colleges. This accreditation effort has resulted in 27 of the 31 tribally controlled colleges gaining full accreditation as institutions of higher education. The four that have not gained full accreditation are well on their way to achieving this goal.

Development

A relatively new effort by tribal colleges to build a diversified funding base is the founding of the Tribal College Fund. This independent but tribal-college-controlled foundation has raised significant funding over the past decade. From interest earned on the endowment, the foundation has awarded each tribal college a sum for student scholarships. Fitting these additional funding sources into the tribal colleges' fiscal designs allows the colleges to begin examining new programs, new curricula, new forums, and additional and advanced degrees for their students and communities. Sinte Gleska University, Oglala Lakota College, Haskell Indian Nations University, and Salish Kootenai College have demonstrated that advanced degrees are possible. Many of the tribal colleges are now studying such options for their colleges and are seriously considering whether to become four-year institutions.

This latest focus of tribal colleges, expanding to four-year colleges, is a strong indication of how optimistic these institutions are about their future growth and development. The need for bigger and better tribal colleges is borne out by an important statistic in Indian country: 56 percent of the American Indian population of the United States is age 24 or younger. This contrasts with the figure of 36 percent of the general U.S. population being in this youngest age group.[15]

Tribal colleges have also reached out to their non-Indian sister institutions of higher education and have been doing so since the founding of the tribal college movement. In the early days of the movement, non-Indian institutions acted as funding conduits to tribal colleges that had not yet earned accreditation candidacy. Non-Indian institutions also participated in cross-registration of students and lent faculty to the tribal colleges upon request. This cooperation has blossomed into full partnerships between tribal colleges and four-year mainstream institutions, partnerships that open to both kinds of institutions innovative science and mathematics opportunities, two-plus-two teacher training programs, distance learning and other telecommunications programs, and effective articulation and course transfer agreements. The recent land-grant status bestowed upon tribally controlled colleges will enhance the opportunities for tribal colleges and non-Indian institutions to continue their development of mutually beneficial partnerships.

Even with all the positives that have transpired over the past 30 years, major road blocks still face tribes that desire to develop and found new tribal colleges. The two major obstacles are funding for such efforts and maintaining the will to persevere in the face of all the difficulties that appear when trying to start such institutions. There are only 31 tribally controlled colleges serving tribes on isolated reservations scattered across the western and midwestern United States; yet there are approximately 300 tribal nations of American Indians. This means only about 10 percent of all reservations are served by tribal colleges. There is much room for growth in the tribal college movement, which hinges on pulling together adequate resources and leadership in Indian country.

Conclusion

The period from 1968 to 1998 has seen the number of tribally controlled colleges grow to 31, a remarkable record in the history of higher education in the United States. The positive impact of tribal colleges on the American Indian people and communities they serve is phenomenal, particularly as represented by the successes of their students in the workplace and in the mainstream institutions to which they transfer. The impact seems even more powerful considering the pride and hope the colleges have spread throughout Indian country.

Tribal college presidents and AIHEC staff are asked frequently by tribal people from across the country, "How can we start our own college?" The willingness of the tribal colleges, AIHEC personnel, and friends and supporters of the tribal college movement to help others start their own tribally controlled colleges is the hallmark of a truly serious social and education movement.

The "can do" attitude exhibited by all associated with the tribal college movement is an example of inspiration and encouragement, and a worthy model to emulate. Tribal colleges still have a long way to travel to reach fiscal security, but relative to the most important higher education goal—staying true to the school mission—tribal colleges have succeeded in abundance.

Notes

1. Wayne J. Stein (Turtle Mountain Chippewa) is director of Native American Studies at Montana State University.

2. See U.S. Senate Appropriations Subcommittee, AIHEC testimony.

3. This list is updated regularly by the American Indian College Fund. See *Where Are the Colleges?* at http://www.collegefund.org/whereare.htm (12 December 1998).

4. A growing body of literature about tribal colleges can inform interested readers. A comprehensive source is Paul Boyer's *Native American Colleges*. Boyer provides a brief history of American Indian education and the tribal college movement before entering into a strong analytical presentation of where tribal colleges are today in their development and in carrying out their stated missions. *Tribally Controlled Colleges* by the author of this chapter explores the history of American Indian higher education participation and the first 10 years of the tribal college movement. This publication focuses on the first six tribal colleges, their founders, and their struggles to bring their colleges into existence. Also included is the history of the founding of the American Indian Higher Education Consortium (AIHEC) and a brief discussion of the second and third waves of tribal colleges, which began in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

Doctoral dissertations and journal articles are other good sources of information on tribal colleges. The past 10 years have seen the subject of tribal colleges chosen by a number of very knowledgeable individuals such as Janine Pease-Pretty On Top and Nathaniel R. St. Pierre. Both had much experience with tribal colleges before researching and writing their dissertations on the subject. Journal articles are now numerous on tribal colleges and their functions. *Tribal College Journal* covers a wide array of topics related to tribal colleges; each issue usually focuses on a particular topic. Back issues are available by contacting journal editor Marjane Ambler at P.O. Box 720, Manco, CO, 81328; telephone 970-533-9170.

5. G. Gorman, Personal Interview, 22 November 1986.

6. See Stein, *Tribally Controlled Colleges.*

7. See Ramirez-Shkwegnaabi, "Roles of Tribally Controlled Community College Trustees."

8. Most community colleges, both tribally controlled and non-Indian schools, share common missions. The colleges are truly neighborhood schools with open admissions policies. Their goals are to serve the education needs of the community, provide academic courses that prepare students to transfer to four-year institutions, offer technical courses that prepare students for the work world, accept any high school graduates or GED certificate students, serve the underserved regardless of race, and work closely with community leaders to improve local economic conditions.

9. See Stein, *Tribally Controlled Colleges.*

10. D. Risling, Personal Interview, 23 November 1986.

11. Tiger, Personal Interview, 8 March 1995.

12. See Butler, "Tribally Controlled Colleges Can Start a Technical Career."

13. Bay Mills Community College, *1994-96 Catalog.*

14. See Stein, *Tribally Controlled Colleges.*

15. U.S. House Appropriations Subcommittee on Veterans' Affairs, AIHEC testimony, 1995.

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CHAPTER 12

The Vanishing Indian Reappears in the College Curriculum

CLARA SUE KIDWELL

Since their inception in the late 1960s, Native American or American Indian studies programs have served as outlets for student political activism; as affirmative action programs to increase the number of Indian students at colleges and universities; and as intellectually coherent, interdisciplinary, academic programs. Their development and persistence in college curricula has both contributed to and been made possible by a growing body of scholarship that encompasses key themes of tribal sovereignty, cultural integrity, relationship with the land, and importance of Native languages for American Indian communities.

The History of Native American Studies

Native American studies programs in college curricula have changed significantly from their early inception in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The first programs were created in the ferment of Indian activism and rising political consciousness marked by the Civil Rights movement and anti-Vietnam War sentiment of the time. The Civil Rights movement raised issues of equal access and affirmative action in higher education. The political activism spawned by U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War increased sensitivity to racism. Not without reason, activists compared the massacre of Vietnamese villagers by U.S. soldiers at My Lai with the massacres of Cheyenne families at Sand Creek, Colorado, in 1864 and Big Foot's band of Lakota (Sioux) at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, in 1890.

For American Indians, the abridgement of rights guaranteed in long-standing treaties was also a cause for activism. Yakamas, Puyallups, Makahs, and members of other local tribes staged "fish-ins" in Washington state in 1964 to assert fishing rights guaranteed by treaties. Iroquois people blockaded bridges between Canada and the United States to assert treaty rights of international free passage. Urban Indians in Minneapolis established the American Indian Movement to monitor police brutality against Indian people in the Franklin Avenue area of the city.[2]

The takeover of Alcatraz Island gave the burgeoning Red Power movement national visibility. On November 9, 1969, a small group of Indian students from the University of California at Berkeley and San Francisco State University occupied the abandoned federal prison on the island. Although they were forced off the island by federal marshals, a larger group retook the facility on November 20. The occupation lasted until June 11, 1971, attracting widespread media attention and sympathy for Indian causes.[3]

Creating a Center for Native American Studies at Alcatraz was one of the proposals made by the occupiers. The center would "train our young people in the best of our native cultural arts and sciences, as well as educate them in the skills and knowledge to improve the lives and spirits of all Indian peoples." The proposal echoed earlier demands by Indian college students that had resulted in the creation of the first academic Native American Studies programs in major universities throughout the country. The students involved in the Alcatraz takeover had been taking courses in the programs at Berkeley and San Francisco State. Many left the classroom to participate in a real-life learning experience on "the Rock."[4]

These early Native American studies programs arose from a rejection of traditional curricula that ignored or misrepresented Native Americans, their cultures, and their place in American history. Indians wanted to learn about their own cultures and ways of serving their own communities. At Berkeley, the Native American studies program was part of an Ethnic Studies Department approved by the faculty senate in response to the Third World Student Strike that shut down the university for about three weeks in the spring of 1969. At the University of Minnesota, students and administrators negotiated a proposed curriculum that would offer "an education that is adequate to deal with the complexities of contemporary Indian affairs."[5]

The complexities, however, were often submerged in rhetoric and polemic. The widespread popularity of Dee Brown's *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee* evoked waves of White middle-class guilt. The book was a catalog of injustices and massacres that contributed significantly to the idea that all Indians died out after 1890. Vine Deloria, Jr. countered the myth of the vanishing Indian in *Custer Died for Your Sins*, a critique of Indian stereotypes that left anthropologists dismayed and Indians with a new sense of righteousness.

Demands for Native American studies programs often grew out of the political and sometimes physical confrontations that accompanied the demands of Black students for Afro-American studies. In this atmosphere of hostility and challenges to the legitimacy of existing curricula, faculty and administrators were often highly suspicious of the academic content of newly formed programs. Consequently their support was lukewarm at best and nonexistent at worst, and many programs faded rather quickly from the academic scene.[6] At Minnesota, the Department of American Indian Studies was dismantled after a period of internal turmoil, and its faculty members were distributed throughout other departments. At the University of California at Davis, the Native American studies degree program was suspended for a time when faculty retirements seemed to threaten the stability of the department.

During the 1980s, however, Native American studies programs were given a new academic role. The initial fervor of Civil Rights protests settled into the more mundane routine of court cases and legislative processes that institutionalized newly asserted rights: affirmative action programs emerged out of national concern over equal employment opportunities and access to education. In 1982 Alexander Astin published an influential study, *Minorities in Higher Education*, and college administrators, confronted with appalling statistics on minority attrition rates, saw Indian Studies programs as vehicles to recruit and retain American Indian students. If Native

American students could take courses relevant to their own experiences, they reasoned, these students would flock to campuses in greater numbers, reversing their statistical underrepresentation. Many colleges and universities advertised Native American or American Indian studies programs that consisted of one or two history, anthropology, or English courses and perhaps a part-time student services person designated as an American Indian counselor.

In the late 1980s the rhetoric justifying recruitment of underrepresented groups shifted to issues of demography and American competitiveness in a global economy. In 1988 the Commission on Minority Participation in Education and American Life produced an influential report on higher education, *One Third of a Nation*. It projected that by the year 2000, one-third of the U.S. population would be composed of members of minority groups—Asian, Black, Hispanic, and American Indian. The report brought home to politicians the fact that unless minorities became more involved in higher education, U.S. competitiveness in the world economy would suffer.

The increasingly multicultural makeup of American society also focused attention on issues of multiculturalism in the college curriculum. As the numbers of minority students increased, administrators and faculty turned to the rhetoric of cultural diversity in the curriculum. The administration of the University of California at Berkeley adopted the motto "Excellence in Diversity," and the faculty senate adopted a new graduation requirement—completion of a course comparing the experiences of at least three major ethnic groups in the United States. Stanford University gave instructors greater latitude to include new materials on their reading lists in the Western Civilization course required of all students for graduation. The call for multiculturalism resulted in a backlash against diversity of curricular offerings (*Black Elk Speaks* had joined and sometimes displaced Shakespeare in English course reading lists) and led to sometimes heated debates over the nature of the canon.

In the 1990s legislation ended many affirmative action programs, discontinuing race-based scholarships and admissions programs. The fact that scholars continue to debate the very notion of race as a biological way of categorizing human beings only complicates the political issues of affirmative action.

Despite the changing academic politics of Native American studies, a number of programs still exist, and they have gained academic legitimacy. The University of Arizona established a master's degree program in 1982 and added a doctoral degree in the area in 1996. The University of California at Los Angeles established the first master's degree program in Native American studies in 1985. Programs at the University of Minnesota and the University of California at Davis have been revived after periods of decline. Although a number of universities offer a minor in Native American or American Indian studies (e.g., University of Wyoming, University of Montana, Montana State University, University of South Dakota, and San Diego State University), only a few offer a full bachelor's degree program (University of Oklahoma, University of Minnesota, Bemidji State University, University of California at Berkeley, and University of North Carolina at Pembroke).[8]

One of the most notable trends in the development of Native American studies programs has been the emergence of the American Indian Higher Education Consortium. Beginning with the establishment of Navajo Community College by the Navajo Tribal Council in 1968, the number of colleges controlled by tribal councils or tribal boards has grown to 31. Although the colleges generally emphasize basic college courses and vocational education, many include courses that relate specifically to the history, language, and culture of the tribe. For example, Little Big Horn College offers a curriculum in Crow Studies, and Salish Kootenai College has a tribal studies curriculum. Staff members often include Native speakers of tribal languages and practitioners of traditional arts and cultural activities. These college courses play an important role in preservation of tribal cultural identity.[9]

Scholarship in Native American Studies

The establishment of Native American studies programs has resulted from and promoted the emergence of serious scholarly attention to Native American history, culture, and literature. The rhetoric of early Native American studies often challenged the stereotypes of Indians and their history (e.g., the hostile savage, the virgin land) that prevailed in traditional American history texts. Robert Berkhofer, noting the resurgent interest in Indians in the early 1970s, examined White perceptions of Indians in *The White Man's Indian* and illustrated how these perceptions had affected Indian-White relations in the twentieth century. Richard Slotkin's monumental study of American literature *Regeneration Through Violence* traced the emergence of a uniquely American consciousness out of frontier contact and conflict with Indians.

Although various reports on the social, political, and legal conditions of Indian people appeared in the first half of the twentieth century, it was not until 1971 that the first major historical study of American Indian legal status appeared. Wilcomb Washburn's *Red Man's Land, White Man's Law* examined legal attitudes from Francisco de Vitoria (1526) to John Marshall (1831) to Supreme Court decisions of the 1950s and 1960s. In 1987 Charles Wilkinson emphasized the importance of legal status by pointing out that, except for Civil Rights legislation, "Indian law has been the vehicle for the modern analysis of laws enacted during the nation's first century of existence more frequently than any other body of law."[10]

Prompted by the demands of tribal leaders and militant activists for true self-government on Indian reservations, Congress reversed its policy of terminating congressional recognition of Indian tribes (enunciated in House Concurrent Resolution 108 in 1954) by passing the *Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act* in 1975. This act was a major step forward in the assertion of Indians' rights to administer their own programs rather than relying upon the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and it helped crystallize the concept of tribes as exercising aboriginal sovereignty as nations. In 1984 Vine Deloria, Jr. and Clifford Lytle examined the concept of tribal sovereignty in *The Nations Within: The Past and Future of American Indian Sovereignty.* They discussed the development of Indian tribal governments and assessed the impact of activism that produced the takeovers of Alcatraz in 1969, the Wounded Knee trading post in 1973, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs building in Washington in 1992. They called for reform of Indian tribal governments and renewal of Indian cultural traditions as bases for true tribal sovereignty.

In the field of history, new interpretations of American Indians emerged. Until the 1970s, the history of Indian tribes was generally political/military history of Indian defeats. In 1972, however, Wilbur Jacobs published *Dispossessing the American Indian: Indians and Whites on the Colonial Frontier,* and in 1975 Francis Jennings published *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant* *of Conquest.* These works portrayed the English settlers of New England as rapacious land grabbers and detailed the process of dispossession of New England's Indians and the effects of Christianity upon them.

Alfred W. Crosby, Jr. introduced the biological dimensions of contact in *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492,* demonstrating that disease played a major factor in the destruction of Native habitats and populations. Henry Dobyns offered new assessments of the demography of Native American populations before European contact, dramatically revising estimates of Aboriginal population figures for the Americas to upward of 100 million. His work spawned a vigorous response in scholarly circles, and debates continue concerning the size of the Native population at the time of contact.[11]

Ethnohistory emerged as a dominant methodology in the study of American Indians in the early 1950s, when historians writing about Native Americans discovered their ties with anthropologists as students of culture. Their work was prompted by the establishment of the Indian Claims Commission, which allowed Indian people to press claims against the federal government for infringement of treaty rights to land. The investigation of claims required Indians to present testimony concerning their traditional land areas, subsistence patterns, and land usage. Scholars preparing testimony for tribes had to use both original documents and testimony by Native people about their pasts. Historians learned about the importance of culture in historical study, and anthropologists learned the value of historical documentation for cultural study.[12]

The development of ethnohistory shifted the focus of scholarship in anthropology from studies of acculturation (e.g., the total displacement of cultural values of a subordinate group by those of a dominant group) to studies of cultural survival, adaptation, and renascence. James Axtell addressed the need to consider situations of cultural contact from the perspectives of both cultures in *The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America* (1981). His book *The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America* (1985) highlighted the responses of Indians in New France and New England to Jesuit and Puritan missionaries. Anthony F. C. Wallace's *The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca* (1969) described the Handsome Lake religion among the Seneca in the first years of the nineteenth century and demonstrated the power of religious revitalization movements in reshaping and reasserting Indian cultural values. James Merrell studied the adaptation and survival of the Catawbas on the East Coast in *The Indians' New World.*

During the 1970s Indians emerged not as passive and disappearing cultural victims but as dynamic entities in history. Although environmentalists adopted the Indian almost as a mascot of conservation (e.g., Iron Eyes Cody, an Indian actor, shed a silent tear on the banks of a polluted stream in a television commercial and widely distributed poster), serious scholars examined Indian uses and control of their environments. The early work of Carl Sauer on the use of fire for environmental management was complemented by such studies as Henry Lewis's *Patterns of Indian Burning in California: Ecology and Ethnohistory.* Calvin Martin, in *Keepers of the Game,* moved the discussion of Indian relationships with nature in a new direction, analyzing the role of Indian hunting in the decline of fur-bearing animal populations in the Northeast woodlands in terms of a spiritually inspired war on the animals. William Cronon examined the interaction of New England culture and environment in *Changes in the Land.* He stressed the dynamic nature of Indian cultures, their control of their environments, and their strategies of adapting to changing patterns of subsistence after European colonists arrived.

The emerging field of archaeoastronomy has shown that Indians were keenly aware of celestial cycles associated with seasons; they recorded the cycles in rock paintings, in medicine wheels, and in patterns of light and shadow, such as that displayed by the Sun Dagger, which marks the sun's solstice points at Fajada Butte near Chaco Canyon in New Mexico. The movement of star clusters such as the Pleiades and the three bright stars of Orion's belt was used to determine the timing of certain ceremonies or to mark planting seasons for many tribes.[10] Studies of Indian plant domestication and agricultural practices reached new levels of sophistication with the development of flotation techniques to recover plant materials from archaeological sites and electron microscopes to detect changes in seed form that indicate domestication.[11]

Because language is an essential cultural marker, language studies played an important part in the development of Native American studies programs, whose curricula have generally included Native language instruction. The University of Minnesota offers Ojibwa and Lakota classes. At the University of Oklahoma, Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, and Kiowa are currently taught. In the field of sociolinguistics, scholarly studies by Gary Witherspoon of the Navajo language and by Keith Basso of Western Apache introduce new ideas demonstrating aspects of Native languages as a cognitive system.

Renewed scholarly attention has been paid to Indian voices in autobiographies. Several personal narratives collected by ethnographers in the 1930s were reissued in the 1960s and 1970s, most notably *Black Elk Speaks*, whose genesis demonstrates both the promise and problems of autobiographies as anthropological, historical, and literary sources.[15]

Black Elk Speaks can be read as a collaboration between a non-Indian novelist and poet, John Neihardt, and a Native holy man, Black Elk, who represents a truly Lakota sensibility. This book can also be viewed as the product of Neihardt's romanticized vision of the Lakota and their tragic decline. If the truth lies somewhere between these two extremes, the book demonstrated the importance of oral history for Native American studies. It also became the subject of numerous critical literary studies and a major exegesis, *The Sixth Grandfather*, by Ray Demallie, which placed it in historical and cultural context. Demallie offered a sophisticated critique that analyzed traditional Lakota religious beliefs and history—White interaction in the late nineteenth century and Black Elk's life history, including his conversion to Catholicism.

On another level, *Black Elk Speaks* demonstrates the conjunction of history and memory reflected in much of the literature produced by contemporary Indian writers and poets. If the reality and impact of visionary experiences in traditional Lakota society are essential to Black Elk's narrative, the reality of the mystical world is necessary too in the powers that Fleur, the medicine woman, commands in Louise Erdrich's *Tracks*. The ghost of John Stink plays a prominent role in the history of the Osage Indians in the late nineteenth century, the subject of *Mean Spirit* by Linda Hogan.

The recognition of American Indian fiction as a distinctive genre in contemporary literary studies effectively began with N. Scott Momaday's *House Made of Dawn*, which won the Pulitzer Prize in

1968. Momaday mixes memory and history with vivid descriptions of the New Mexico landscape to convey the alienation the protagonist Abel feels in Los Angeles.

Native American art has been the subject of scholarly study for a number of years, but in the early 1970s studies of ledger art became important in portraying the transition of Indian cultures from traditional lifestyles to confinement on reservations in the mid-nineteenth century. Art becomes history, as in the work of Karen Petersen, Helen Blish, and Candace Green.

In the field of fine arts, several scholars began to focus on the aesthetic qualities of American Indian material culture. Christian F. Feest, an Austrian scholar working in Vienna, produced *Native Arts of North America*, providing a counterpoint to the older anthropological interpretative framework of Franz Boas. Feest contributed significantly to the development of a history of American Indian art, shifting the analysis from the collection of ethnographic materials as cultural *curiosities* to discussion of the stylistic techniques and aesthetic qualities of these works. The establishment of the Institute of American Indian Arts in Santa Fe, New Mexico, in 1962 encouraged the development of new artistic styles by Indian artists. Allan Houser and Fritz Scholder taught at the institute and influenced a generation of students to break away from the flat, pictorial style that had characterized the work of artists trained at The Studio, the institute's predecessor in Santa Fe. Scholarly attention to the history of these developments in Indian painting and sculpture has produced a number of recent works.[16]

Intellectual Coherence in Native American Studies

In 1978 Russell Thornton suggested a group of unique intellectual areas as the bases for developing American Indian studies as an academic discipline: oral traditions, treaties and treaty rights, tribal government, forms of social organization, group persistence, American Indian epistemology, and contemporary issues.[17] As a result of the trends in scholarship inspired by and contributing to the development of Native American studies as an academic area, I propose that an intellectual framework is now emerging. It incorporates Thornton's concepts into paradigms from several disciplines, primarily anthropology, history, literary criticism, and legal studies.

The key ideas that constitute an intellectually coherent statement of the nature of the field of Native American or American Indian studies include tribal sovereignty, the importance of relationships to land in cultural identity, the importance of culture in understanding the effects of first contacts between Europeans and Native Americans, and the significance of Native languages as cognitive structures. These ideas have inspired scholarly studies and have been refined by the results of those studies.

Tribal sovereignty is essential to the continued existence of American Indian tribes in contemporary society. It both depends on and contributes to the cultural integrity of tribes, as Deloria and Lytle pointed out in 1984. The idea of tribal sovereignty is thus critical to studies of past and present Indian cultural and political identity. Tribes have asserted their rights to self-government based on Aboriginal occupancy of lands in North America and on treaty rights negotiated with colonial governments and the United States. These latter rights have given tribes a unique legal and political status, but one that has evolved over time. The study of Indian-White relations through history has an intellectually distinctive dimension that must be acknowledged.

Tribal sovereignty implies that Indian nations have the right to choose their own forms of government, pursue their own cultural forms of governing, determine their own membership, and retain government-to-government relationships with federal and state governments. Each of these powers is, however, complicated by both historical circumstances and the political positions of tribes in contemporary American society—taxation, regulation of gaming, economic development, and membership complicated by the intermixing of blood among Indian nations and between Indians and Whites. Indian gaming, a very modern phenomenon, is an interesting example. The *Indian Gaming Regulatory Act* of 1988 mandated that states and tribes enter into agreements with regard to casino gambling on reservations, a requirement that imposes federal regulations upon tribal governments. A recent Supreme Court decision (*Seminole Tribe of Florida v. United States*) has denied the constitutionality of the requirement because it imposes a federal mandate on state governments. Although the Supreme Court decision gives tribes freedom from state constraints, it also throws into significant doubt the mechanisms by which Indian gaming is to be implemented and regulated. Understanding the complex issues of sovereignty depends upon recognition of the unique status of Indian tribes, the dynamics of cultural change and adaptation, and the historical evolution of legal systems within which tribal identities are embedded.

The importance of sovereignty to culture is demonstrated in the *National Museum of the American Indian Act* (1989) and the *Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act* (1990), which mandate the return to Native people of Indian human remains and cultural materials from museums and other federally funded repositories. These laws are premised on inherent tribal rights of ownership of those materials; both require museums to send information on their collections to federally recognized tribes and to consult with tribes in the process of determining tribal affiliation and usage. In terms of scholarship, repatriation legislation and practice requires examining in detail a range of information to determine affiliations, particularly for materials that predate European contact. Archaeologists will be asked to determine lines of descent that link contemporary tribal groups with precontact habitation sites and skeletal remains.[18]

Another key concept is that American Indians have a unique cultural and legal relationship with land. Although ethnographers and anthropologists have long acknowledged the critical role of environmental factors in shaping cultures, for contemporary Indian people, studies of religion and philosophy generally start from the premise that Indian cultures both shaped and were shaped by their environments.[19] The relationship is embedded historically in treaty rights. It is also essential in terms of contemporary literature and aesthetics. The Southwestern landscape plays an integral part in Momaday's *House Made of Dawn*. What characterizes Indian literature is its *situatedness* in place. Landscape is part of the story in a distinctive way. Indian painting, sculpture, crafts, and performance arts derive significantly from cultural affiliation with land.

Another key paradigm for Native American studies is that contact between cultures must be examined from the viewpoints of both cultures. If Indians disappeared from American history and largely from American consciousness in the early twentieth century, it was because the writing and study of history was embedded in a peculiarly Western European consciousness. As anthropologist Eric Wolf points out, "We have been taught, inside the classroom and outside of it, that there exists an entity called the West, and that one can think of this West as a society and civilization independent of and in opposition to other societies and civilizations."[20]

History written from a particular cultural viewpoint essentially disregards the reality of other views. Ethnohistorians have attempted to construct the differing worldviews of historical actors in situations of initial contact. The study of contact situations has been enriched by the realization that culture is not *sui generis* but a fluid and changing phenomenon that constitutes webs of meaning within which people act.[21] The interpretation of historical encounters between Europeans and American Indians reveals much about not only Indian cultures but the cultural values of early European colonists.[22]

The study of Native languages is a critical part of a Native American studies curriculum. There is a resurgence of interest in preserving and reviving languages in Indian communities, and the federal Administration for Native Americans supports community efforts with limited federal grants. Although linguists have collected Native language materials for many years, Indian languages have been forcibly suppressed by boarding schools and federal policies aimed at assimilating Indians into American society. There are still approximately 209 Indian languages spoken in North America, but nearly 80 percent are in danger of extinction within the present or next generation. Although it is impossible to save many of these languages, the study of a Native language offers unique insights into a different way of organizing one's world conceptually. Studies about language can provide some of those insights.[23]

Indian cultures were strictly oral cultures before European contact and remained largely so even while European missionaries and explorers tried to reduce them to written form. The distinctive qualities of Indian languages—their attention to action, relationships, and frequent lack of precisely defined pronouns—derive from their dependence upon face-to-face contact between speaker and listener (e.g., social context is vital to understanding). The work of translating texts and the influence of speech styles on contemporary literature by Indian authors, even those who do not speak Native languages, are functions of the orality of Indian cultures.[24]

Tribal sovereignty and cultural integrity, relationship to land, problems of intercultural interpretation of history, and the centrality of language in understanding culture are essential themes in the developing discipline of Native American or American Indian studies. This is not an exhaustive list of ideas. It is broad enough, however, to subsume many ideas that have emerged throughout the history of Indian studies programs—the destructive power of stereotypes, diasporas of Indian tribes, and historical sources of contemporary social and economic problems on reservations and in urban communities. These themes interweave a coherent approach to the study of historical and contemporary American Indian communities.

Native American Studies in the Contemporary Academic World

Scholarship focused on Native Americans appears in a number of scholarly disciplines and with many of the trappings of conventional academic life. In the field of literature, Native American studies has developed the self-reflexivity that characterizes literary studies. N. Scott Momaday, Leslie Marmon Silko, James Welch, and Gerald Vizenor are subjects of critical analyses, doctoral dissertations, and articles in two journals devoted to new scholarship in Native American studies, The *American Indian Quarterly* and *American Indian Culture and Research Journal.*[2]

Although Indian people will proclaim "There is no word for art in our language," the discussion around the creation of works of aesthetic beauty by Indian people, in both past and contemporary society, continues to produce new scholarship. The Native American Art Studies Association meets biennially. At its last meeting, scholars presented papers on rock art sites, ledger book art, and the work of contemporary Indian artists. Here, as in the field of literature, critical analysis is being applied to forms of Indian artistic expression.

Native and non-Native historians and anthropologists meet regularly at professional meetings to present research on Indian topics, albeit in relatively small numbers and generally on panels devoted exclusively to Indians. Degree-granting programs, including several at the master's degree level and one at the doctoral degree level, exist in colleges and universities in various parts of the country.

From political confrontation to affirmative action to multiculturalism, the presence of American Indians as both subjects of scholarship and scholars in their own right has created a new field of study that focuses a number of disciplinary viewpoints on a particular group (or groups) of people. As part of this process, disciplinary lines of inquiry have begun to blur. Anthropologists appear on panels at meetings of the American Historical Association and the Organization of American Historians, and historians join anthropologists at meetings of the American Anthropological Association. The American Society for Ethnohistory brings together both disciplines. Linguistics and anthropology meld in studies of cognitive systems in language. Native American studies has thus promoted a model of truly interdisciplinary learning.

In 1977 a group of scholars working in or familiar with American Indian studies programs gathered at the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) to discuss the development of a master's degree program in American Indian studies at UCLA and, in a broader context, to discuss the future of the field. There was general agreement that Indian studies was not an academic discipline, but that it had the potential to develop an intellectual framework to become one. In the intervening 20 years, the development of new ideas, new approaches to the study of American Indians, and new forums for the exchange of ideas have given academic credibility to the study of American Indians in traditional disciplines and to the field of American Indian studies as an intellectual enterprise in its own right.

Notes

1. Clara Sue Kidwell (Choctaw and Chippewa) directs the Native American Studies program at the University of Oklahoma.

2. Smith and Warrior, *Like a Hurricane*, 127-30.

3. Forbes, "Native Struggle for Liberation," 123-30; Talbot, "Indian Students," 93-102; Garvey and Johnson, "Government and the Indians," 151-88.

4. Fortunate Eagle, "Urban Indians," 46; Kemnitzer, "Personal Memories," 103-09.

5. Miller, "Involvement in an Urban University," 327, 331.

6. Given the highly variable definitions of what constitutes a Native

American or American Indian studies program, it is difficult to say how many have actually existed over time. A measure of their shifting fortunes is found in three studies: a survey of 100 programs in 1974 conducted by the Western Interstate Commission on Higher Education (WICHE), a second WICHE survey in 1976-77, and a survey of 107 institutions conducted in 1980-81 by the American Indian Culture and Research Center at UCLA. The overlap between the second WICHE survey and the UCLA survey was only 57 institutions, from which we can infer that although new programs had emerged, many programs that existed in 1976-77 had changed or disappeared by 1981. For more information, see Locke, *Survey of College and University Programs* (1974); Locke, *Survey of College and University Programs* (1978); and Heth and Guyette, *Issues for the Future.*

7. See Bloom, *Closing of the American Mind;* Schlesinger, *Disuniting of America;* and D'Souza, *Illiberal Education.*

8. Information on the programs was gleaned from a selective search of college and university Internet sites, identified through the Infoseek Web browser and personal knowledge. The American Indian Studies Center at UCLA has recently conducted a survey of 12 programs; results are available from Dr. Duane Champagne, director of the center. Dr. Robert Nelson at the University of Richmond has conducted a survey for the Association for the Study of American Indian Literature and produced a new guide listing 69 Native American studies programs. An electronic version of the guide is available at http://www.richmond.edu/~rnelson/guide.html (12 December 1998).

9. See Carnegie Foundation, *Tribal Colleges* and Boyer, *Native American Colleges.*

10. Wilkinson, *American Indians,* 14. Earlier studies that focused on American Indians include Lindquist, *Red Man in the United States;* Schmeckebier, *Office of Indian Affairs;* Institute for Government Research, *Problem of Indian Administration;* Cohen, *Handbook of Federal Indian Law;* and Brophy, Aberle, and others, *The Indian.*

11. Dobyns, "Estimating Aboriginal American Population," 395-416. See also Dobyns, *Native American Historical Demography* and Thornton, *American Indian Holocaust.*

12. Tanner, "Erminie Wheeler-Voegelin," 65-68.

13. See Aveni and Urton, *Ethnoastronomy;* Aveni, *Native American Astronomy;* Ceci, "Watchers of the Pleiades"; Chamberlain, *When Stars Came Down to Earth;* and Williamson, *Archaeoastronomy in the Americas.*

14. See Struever, "Flotation Techniques" and Ford, *Prehistoric Food Production.*

15. See Linderman, *Red Mother;* Neihardt and Black Elk, *Black Elk Speaks;* Plenty-Coups, *American;* Left Handed, *Son of Old Man Hat;* Left Handed, *Left Handed;* and Talayesva, *Sun Chief.*

16. See Highwater, *Song From the Earth;* Wade, *Arts of the North American Indian;* and Archuleta and Strickland, *Shared Visions.*

17. Thornton, "American Indian Studies," 10-18.

18. Trope and Echo-Hawk, "Native American Graves Protection," 38-43, 54-59.

19. See Bennett, *Ecological Transition;* Oliver, *Ecology;* Steward, *Evolution and Ecology;* and Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places.*

20. Wolf, *Europe,* 5.

21. Geertz, *Interpretation of Cultures,* 5, 144.

22. See, for example, Galloway, "The Chief Who is Your Father."

23. Goddard, "Introduction," 3. Studies about Native language include Hymes, *In Vain* and Hinton, *Flutes of Fire.*

24. See Kroeber, *Traditional Literatures.*

25. See Velie, *Four American Indian Literary Masters.*

26. The results of the meeting were published as a special issue of the *American Indian Culture and Research Journal,* vol. 2, nos. 3 and 4 (1978).

27. For current listings of Native American studies programs, visit the ERIC Clearinghouse on Rural Education and Small School's on-line *Native Education Directory* at http://www.ael.org/eric/ned.htm (12 December 1998).

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PART IV
THE NEXT STEPS

CHAPTER 13

Research to Support Improved Practice in Indian Education

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AND

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This book is our attempt to pull together some definitive thoughts about the education of American Indians and Alaska Natives from a Native perspective. A field as complex as *Indian education* is not easily defined and packaged into one book; therefore, we hope this is one of many books by Native authors that will present issues and ideas for discussion and study in college and university classrooms.

Readers will notice two major and related themes among the chapters. The various authors support the concept of tribal self-determination in education while they reject the age-old deficit and stereotypic approaches to education. This paradigm shift represents a fundamental change in thinking, attitude, and approach to research and practice in Native education. Self-determination puts Native people in control and uses tribal languages, cultures, and values to enhance student work, research, higher education, and other areas related to education. Educators who work from this paradigm face a challenge because the deficit approach, with assimilation as a goal, remains deeply entrenched in schools. The effects of the deficit approach reveal themselves in drop-out rates, attendance rates, academic achievement test scores, and enrollment and graduation rates in colleges and universities. The individual chapters in this book stand alone as excellent readings on a variety of topics, but together, they represent an in-depth look at current Native thinking about topics ranging from the historical foundations of Indian education, to theoretical and practical aspects of curricula at all levels of education, to research-based recommendations for the future.

So what *are* the next steps we need to take to advance research and practice in the education of American Indians and Alaska Natives? Clearly, based on chapters in this text, our endeavors must be guided by tribal self-determination. The education of Indigenous people is complex given the various circumstances and cultural differences of students and their families. Although progress toward tribal self-determination has been made over the past 30 years, we continue to see the results of past assimilation and termination policies and practices play themselves out in the lives of students today. Much more needs to be done to ensure full participation of all students in achieving community and individual goals.

This final chapter begins with a description of the student population referred to when we discuss Indian education. We then review the research needs articulated by several authors over the past 10 years or more. We discuss several philosophies and approaches, some of which are research based, that show promise for improving practice. We conclude with recommendations for the next steps that must be taken by researchers and practitioners.

The Student Population

Although American Indian and Alaska Native students generally attend public, private, and parochial schools, most of the research and writing in Indian education emanates from the 187 schools funded by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). The BIA-supported schools are located on 63 reservations in 23 states; more than 60 percent are tribally controlled, funded through contracts or grants from the BIA.

About 90 percent of the 600,000 Native students in the United States attend public schools. According to the National Center for

Education Statistics, 1,260 public schools have an American Indian and/or Alaska Native student enrollment of at least 25 percent. Another 78,625 public schools have enrollments of American Indian and/or Alaska Native students that number less than 25 percent. The small number of Native students in most public schools makes research and dissemination activities a daunting task. It is much easier to do these things in the BIA-funded schools, which is why the knowledge base in Indian education is generated largely from these schools.[2]

While most Native students are successful, too many are not. For example, Native students have the highest drop-out rate (around 36 percent) of any racial or ethnic group. The National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) reports that Native fourth-grade students score below basic levels in reading, math, and history. D. Michael Pavel points out that Native students are less likely to be college bound and their SAT and ACT scores are lower compared to national norms (see Chapter 10).

Research

In 1989 dialogues sponsored by the College Board's Educational Equality Project and the American Indian Science and Engineering Society (AISES) were held regionally throughout the country to discuss what educational changes American Indians wanted for American Indian youth. The National Dialogue Project on American Indian Education resulted in *Our Voices, Our Vision: American Indians Speak Out for Educational Excellence*. This report clearly states that research on Indian history and culture must consider the perspectives of American Indian people and that American Indian scholars must "become involved in producing research rather than serving as subjects and consumers of research."[3] In the three years after this report, this position was supported by two other significant events in which the voices of Native people were heard, recorded, and reported, namely the Indian Nations At Risk Task Force hearings and subsequent report and the White House Conference on Indian Education and its final report. Both reports call for basic research, applied research, and the development of programs and materials from a Native perspective.

In 1993 the *Tribal College Journal* published a special issue on research. An editorial essay, "From Passive to Active: Research in Indian Country," concludes the following:

> As we approach the twenty-first century there is a strong collective and collaborative voice of Indian (and non-Indian) people speaking about the role of research in the lives of Indian people. Included in this voice are professors at tribal, public and private colleges and universities; teachers and administrators in tribal, public and private schools; policy-makers at the local, state and national levels; and last but not least, the tribal leaders who envision the lives of their people being improved by research.[4]

The need for authentic knowledge developed by Native researchers has been established, but what aspects of Indigenous education and community life do we need to study and how will our methods differ from what has been done before? Several documents in recent years have identified many nagging questions that must be researched and reported.

One report calls for studies of intertribal communication styles, learning styles, cognitive skills, alcohol and drug abuse among families, development of industry on reservations, the climate at the university for Indian professionals and professors, educational relationships between American Indian tribes and other sovereign countries/nations, and leadership power in education. Similarly the authors of this chapter have suggested pedagogy, curricula, teachers, achievement scores, drop-out rates, higher education, and parental involvement as areas in need of more research.[5]

The reports of both the Indian Nations At Risk Task Force and the White House Conference on Indian Education call for applied research in the following areas: extent of adult illiteracy and adequacy of current adult literacy funding and programs; unmet needs in higher education; progress in higher education including enrollment, retention, and graduation; elementary and secondary enrollment and achievement; identification of gifted and talented individuals; and demographic characteristics. Development needs outlined in the reports include alternative assessment or unbiased standardized tests to assess student achievement and abilities; effective parent support programs; instruction, curricula, and program administration for exceptional students of all ages; and alcohol and substance abuse issues.[8]

The value of research to decision making is more widely appreciated in Native communities where Native people have become active researchers, looking for solutions to critical issues facing their governments and communities. The insider perspective is valuable in setting research agendas and in situations where proper protocol must be followed to gain access to information. Two recent examples of redefined research paradigms come from the Southwest. Mary E. Romero of Cochiti Pueblo directly involved Cochiti (and other Keresan Pueblo) elders in every aspect of a study that developed a definition of giftedness from a Keresan Pueblo perspective. Romero's knowledge of Pueblo protocol was important in this study. By following protocol, she gathered rich data and, in the process, developed a new and culturally appropriate research methodology.

In Arizona, members of the Education Standing Committee of the Gila River Indian Community Tribal Council helped design a study to learn about the choices made by their youth to persist or drop out of high school. This partnership included the Center for Indian Education and the Strengthening Underrepresented Minorities in Math and Science (SUMMS) Institute at Arizona State University (ASU). Committee members and ASU faculty defined the role of each partner in gathering, processing, interpreting, and reporting data, which eventually yielded substantial information about their youth and the drop-out problem in their community. Both of these examples exemplify tribal control of the research process, thus creating models for other communities to follow as they find answers to their own perplexing problems.

Practice

Much of what needs to be done to improve practice depends upon good research. While effective practices can be cited in a number of schools attended by American Indian and Alaska Native students, those practices are not pervasive enough and are not sustained over sufficient periods of time to produce measurable and generalizable effects.

Several studies indicate that Native language instruction enhances academic success (as measured on tests) or shows positive results in maintaining or revitalizing Native language use in the community and schools. An excellent example of combining local control and local knowledge to produce effective practices is found in a public school district serving Hualapai students in Peach Springs, Arizona:

> Since bilingual education began at Peach Springs in 1976, student attendance has significantly improved, and Hualapai students now graduate from eighth grade (when the program ends) and from high school in far greater numbers than their peers in conventional school programs. In 1989, 100% of Hualapai students who had completed the eighth grade went on to graduate from high school. These instructional changes, in which the Hualapai language and culture were authentic and integral parts of the school, along with an increase of Native teachers enhanced the integration of the school with the community, resulted in Indian students' increased success in school.[11]

The *Indian Nations At Risk* report also identifies successful practices in Native education. For example, the Denver Indian Center is recognized for its Circles of Learning Pre-K Curriculum, an American Indian culturally based model for early childhood education. Crazy Horse School in South Dakota and St. Peter's Mission School in Arizona have service integration programs that promote student health. The Pennsylvania State University's American Indian Leadership Program is noted for preparing educational leaders. Wounded Knee Elementary School in South Dakota is noted for parental participation. Peach Springs School in Arizona is recognized as a model for its culture-based Hualapai language and technology program.

In recent years, the schools funded by the BIA through the Office of Indian Education Programs (OIEP) have concentrated on school reform and improvement. In 1987 the OIEP developed a plan to use the lessons learned in the effective schools research to improve their schools. Eleven correlates were used, based upon the assumptions that all students can and will learn, schools can make a difference, what schools care about is what they will teach and what students will learn, and evidence of school improvement is based upon student outcomes. One central correlate was cultural relevance or tribal culture integrated into all areas of the schools, which supports student self-esteem, success, and respect. The effective schools research combined with the *Goals 2000: Educate America Act* have resulted in school reform and improvement in BIA-supported schools. This reform focuses on developing challenging integrated curriculum-based content and assessment standards. Although these content standards and assessment strategies were developed for BIA-supported schools, they have the potential to influence public education where schools have significant numbers of Native students.[8]

The OIEP also developed a family literacy program that has been recognized as a model nationally. The Family and Child Education Program, known as FACE, was initiated in 1990 to serve children ages 0 to 5 and their parents in both home and school settings. It is based on the proven models of Parents As Teachers, Parent and Child Education, and the High/Scope curriculum for early childhood. A fundamental component of FACE is the integration of tribal languages and cultures in the operation of the program.[9]

As we have noted, many good things are happening in the education of American Indians and Alaska Natives. Self-determination efforts are evident in all aspects of education but especially in the control of schools on reservation lands. Research will play an even more important role as communities determine the effects of reform and improvement and frame the questions that still need to be resolved.

Recommendations

What is Indian education today? What will Indigenous education look like in the future? We believe the momentum that began more than two decades ago will continue to grow. Young scholars like Tarajean Yazzie and Tim Begaye on the editorial board of the *Harvard Educational Review* will continue to influence what is published about Indigenous education in mainstream journals. Recent books—like *Collected Wisdom* by Linda Miller Cleary and Thomas Peacock, *First Person, First Peoples* by Andrew Garrod and Colleen Larimore, and *To Live Heroically* by Delores J. Huff—and the chapters in this book all tell the story from our perspective and will be joined by other Indigenous authors. We need many more Native researchers to write our stories and improve schooling for our youth and adults.

We believe a primary focus of research and practice must be the teaching-learning relationship between students and teachers. This relationship is the most basic interaction that takes place in schools each day and one that determines whether students will persist or not. A mutually respectful and caring relationship is essential to educational success. We believe that a good teacher *is* a good teacher, but when there is a good Native teacher, the relationship between Native student and teacher is enhanced. When examining the credentials of potential teachers, school officials and board members must also consider the qualities and characteristics that assure respect, caring, and communication of high expectations.

Equal in importance to good teachers is an effective principal or leadership team. Leadership development in education should not be left to chance but should focus on school improvement efforts. Anecdotal evidence in reservation schools suggests school stability is in jeopardy when there is a high turnover of principals. For improvements to take hold, a school must maintain stability long enough to plan and implement changes. We must ask research questions such as, How can effective practice be sustained over enough time to measure the effects? Fresh research approaches can help us address this sort of question.

Communities must join forces with schools to recruit and retain the best teachers and administrators. Grow-your-own programs, in which local people receive preservice and professional development training, represent hopeful new directions for stabilizing the workforce in reservation and rural schools. Distance learning and collaborations with nearby colleges—particularly tribal colleges—and universities now help communities overcome previous obstacles of isolation and scarce population. Culturally appropriate programs can be designed through such creative relationships.

In every community, the daily lives of our youth must be the central focus of our labor in schools. Adults working within institutions and systems serving youth and their families must begin to communicate with one another to collaborate more fully in creating conditions for educational success. The resilience of our youth should be celebrated and nurtured within the daily settings of families, schools, and communities, and also within the systems of health, justice, and social welfare.

We must make sure the connections between higher education and the elementary-secondary systems help students' transition from one phase of schooling to the next. The relationships that can be built between the two systems are unlimited and should include activities such as mentoring, advanced placement courses, and applied research.

The misconceptions and stereotypes about Native peoples that persist in academic content and attitudes and behaviors of school personnel must be addressed through preservice and in-service teacher preparation, and in the curricular materials used to train teachers in colleges, universities, and school districts. We believe negative stereotypes coupled with inadequate and inaccurate information about this nation's Indigenous peoples, particularly in social studies curricula, damage the self-concepts and subsequent behavior of our youth. We must design and implement studies to determine if this belief is so. Teachers must be convinced that it is not appropriate nor feasible to reduce the history of more than 550 different Indigenous nations to instructional units of two to three weeks. Textbook producers, professional organizations, teacher preparation programs, and teachers must begin to question what is gained by introducing young children to Indian units if the children are not developmentally ready to understand the existence of Native peoples in the past and in contemporary times.

Native education research and research-based practice must broaden beyond the de facto reservation context, which has been its focus up to now. There is a great need to focus research and efforts to improve practice in public, private, and parochial schools, especially urban or off-reservation schools attended by 90 percent of Native students.

Native communities and individuals need to assume a greater responsibility in educating America and the rest of the world about our political status and the relationships between our nations and other sovereigns (e.g., state and federal government) in this country. The general public and others need to know that the education of American Indians and Alaska Natives has a historical beginning and developmental history different from the rest of public education in this country. Until they understand *why* there is a field of Indian education, people will not understand *why* there is a need to be concerned about it now and in the future.

Building coalitions for research and development among tribal governments, programs in federal departments, colleges and universities, professional organizations, and the private sector makes good sense. Recent executive orders have required federal departments to respect the government-to-government relationships between federally recognized tribes and the federal government and to interact or partner with tribal colleges to improve the health, education, and economic conditions of tribes. These kinds of partnerships also can be developed with mainstream colleges and universities and the private sector.

Through organizations such as the World Indigenous Peoples Conference on Education, American Indians and Alaska Natives must continue to build coalitions with Indigenous people from other countries of the world. The education-for-assimilation experience of other colonized Indigenous peoples has produced similar results. But Indigenous communities worldwide have also begun to experience a similar renaissance of the self-determination American Indian and Alaska Native communities have undergone in education, literature, and the arts in the last 25-30 years. By building on one another's successes, we can further develop and expand our thoughts about how to promote use of language and cultural bases for an Indigenous pedagogy.

With budgets subject to the uncertainties of congressional political processes, school building and renovation projects on reservations are frequently overlooked, and operating budgets remain low. However, tribes can now exercise full control over education on their lands. They have the authority to establish and enforce policies that define the nature of education for their constituents just as states do for their school districts. The example set by the Rosebud Sioux Tribe's Education Code demonstrates the impact this government has made in assuring that the language and culture of the Sicangu Lakota people will be significant forces in training teachers and developing curricula for schools on their reservation lands.

Educational conditions on several reservations will be affected by recent tribal economic development as a result of gaming operations. Anecdotal evidence suggests both positive and negative results. Positive results include the tribes having assigned high priority to education and other infrastructural systems; in some cases, reservation education systems have received better funding than ever before. Negative results include the impacts on some home and family conditions. The overall effects must be studied sooner or later.

We often say that, as Native people, we view the world holistically. The relationships among the parts are important to understanding the whole. Our thinking about education must reflect this comprehensive and holistic view of teaching and learning. Western thought and approaches to education have resulted in categorical and separate systems in our lives. Schooling is often viewed as separate from other institutions that impact us daily. More connections need to be made between schooling and the other critical settings in daily life.

All in all, the situation for Indian education remains as it was in 1991 when John Tippeconnic stated:

> There is reason to be cautiously optimistic about the future of Indian education in the United States, but it will take a broader approach. This approach should include a partnership among tribes, states, the federal government and other interest groups that will provide leadership and minimize politics while maximizing quality education for Indian students.[10]

Notes

1. Karen Gayton Swisher (Standing Rock Sioux) is Dean of Instruction at Haskell Indian Nations University. John W. Tippeconnic III (Comanche) teaches Education Policy Studies and directs the American Indian Leadership Program at The Pennsylvania State University.

2. See National Center for Educational Statistics, *Characteristics*.

3. National Dialogue Project, *Our Voices*, 7.

4. Swisher, "From Passive to Active," 4.

5. See Robbins and Tippeconnic, *Research in American Indian Education* and Tippeconnic and Swisher, "American Indian Education."

6. See Cahape, *Blueprints for Indian Education*.

7. Deyhle and Swisher, "Research," 170. For additional informa-

tion regarding the Peach Springs bilingual education effort, see Watahomigie and Yamamoto, "Linguistics in Action"; McCarty, *Hualapai;* and Watahomogie, "Discussant's Comments."

8. See St. Germaine, "BIA Schools Complete First Step" and St. Germaine, "Bureau Schools Adopt Goals 2000."

9. See Tippeconnic and Jones, "Description of Family and Child Education."

10. Tippeconnic, "Education of American Indians," 202.

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What is "Indian education" today? What will it look like in the future?

These were the questions Karen Gayton Swisher and John W. Tippeconnic III posed to a dozen leading American Indian scholars and practitioners.

They responded with the essays in *Next Steps: Research and Practice to Advance Indian Education*, which explore two important themes. The first is education for tribal self-determination. Tribes are now in a position to exercise full control of education on their lands. They have the authority to establish and enforce policies that define the nature of education for their constituents, just as states do for their school districts. The second theme is the need to turn away from discredited deficit theories of education, and turn instead to an approach that builds on the strengths of Native languages and culture and the basic resilience of Indigenous peoples. This second theme could be especially important for the 90 percent of Indian students who attend public schools.

Next Steps is appropriate for multicultural and teacher education programs. It addresses facets of K-12 and post-secondary Native American education programs, including their history, legal aspects, curriculum, access, and achievement.

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